THE OBSERVATIONS OF SIR RICHARD HAVVKINS KNIGHT, IN HIS *VOIAGE INTO THE South Sea.*

Anno Domini 1593.

Per varios Casus, Artem Experientia fecit, Exemplo monstrante viam.—Manil. li. 1.



LONDON
Printed by *I.D.* for IOHN IAGGARD, and are to be sold at his shop at the Hand and Starre in Fleete-streete, neere the *Temple Gate.* 1622.

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TO THE MOST ILLVSTRIOVS AND MOST EXCELLENT *Prince* CHARLES, *Prince of Wales*, DVKE of *CORNEWALL*, EARLE of *CHESTER*, &c.

AMongſt other *Neglects* preiudiciall to this *State*, I haue obſerved, that many the *worthy and Heroyque Acts* of our Nation, haue beene buried and forgotten: The Actors themſelues being deſirous to ſhunne emulation in publiſhing them, and thoſe which ouerlived them, fearefull to adde, or to dimniſh from the *Actors* worth, ludgement, and valour; haue forborne to write them: By which, ſucceeding ages haue beene deprived of the *Fruits*, which might haue beene gathered out of their *Experience*, had they beene committed to *Record*. To avoyd this *Neglect*, and for the *Good* of my Country, I haue thought it my duty to publiſh the *Obſervations* of my *South-ſea-Voyage*; and for that vnto your Highneſſe, you Heires, and Succeſſors, it is moſt likely to be advantagious, (hauing brought on me nothing but loſſe and miſery) I am bold to vſe your *Name*, a protection vnto it, and to offer it with all humblenes and duty to your Highneſſe approbation, which if it purchaſe, I haue attained my deſire, which ſhall ever ayme to performe dutie.

Your Highneſſe humble
and devoted ſervant,

RICHARD HAVVKINS

TO THE MOST ILLVSTRIOVS AND MOST EXCELLENT Prince CHARLES, Prince of Wales, DVKE of CORNEWALL, EARLE of CHESTER, &c.

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Your Highneſſe humble
and deuoted ſeruant,

RICHARD HAVKINS

To the Reader.



Had that worthie Knight *the Authour lived to haue ſeene this his Treatiſe publiſhed: he would perhaps himſelfe haue giuen the account thereof: For by his owne directions it was put to the Preſſe, though it pleaſed God to take him to his mercy during the time of the Impreſsion. His purpoſe was to haue recommended both it and himſelfe vnto our moſt Excellent Prince* CHARLES, *and himſelfe wrote the Dedication, which being imparted vnto me, I conceited that it ſtood not with my dutie to ſuppreſſe it.*

Touching the diſcourſe it ſelfe, as it is out of my element to iudge, ſo it is out of my purpoſe to ſay much of it. This onely I may boldly promiſe, that you ſhall heere find an expert Sea man, in his owne Dialect deliuer a true relation of an vnfortunat Voyage: which howſoever it proued lamentable and fatall to the Actors, may yet proue pleaſing to the Readers: it being an itch in our natures to delight in newnes and varietie, be the ſubiect never ſo grieuous. This (if there were no more) were yet worthy your peruſall: and is as much as others haue with good acceptance afforded in relations of this nature. Howbeit beſides the bare ſeries and Context of the ſtorie, you ſhall heere finde interweaved, ſundry exact deſcriptions of Countries, Townes, Capes, Promontories, Riuers, Creekes, Harbors, and the like, not vnprofitable for Nauigators: beſides many notable obſeruations, the fruites of a long experience, that may giue light touching Marine accidents, even to the beſt Captaines and Commaunders: who if they deſire to learne by precepts ſhall here finde ſtore: but if examples preuaile more with them, here are alſo aliena pericula, *if you beliewe mee not, reade and iudge.* Farewell.

To the Reader.



THE OBSERVATIONS OF SIR RICHARD HAWKINS, KNIGHT, in his VOYAGE into the South SEA.

ANNO DOMINI. 1593.

SECT. I.



IN the COYNES consent, and helpe of my Father, Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, Knight, I resolved a Voyage to be made for the Ilands of *Iapan*, of the *Phillippinas*, and *Moluccas*, the Kingdomes of *China*, and *East Indies*, by the way of the *Straites* of *Magelan*, and the South Sea.

The necessary vse of Discoveries.

The principall end of our Designements, was, to make a perfect Discovery of all those parts, where I should arriue, as well knowne as vnknowne, with their Longitudes and Latitudes; the lying of their Coasts; their Head-lands; their Ports, and Bayes; their Cities, Townes, and Peoplings; their manner of Government; with the Commodities which the Countries yeelded, and of which they haue want, and are in necessitie.

Of trauaile.

For this purpose in the end of Anno 1588. returning from the iourney against the Spanish *Armado*, I caused a Ship to be builded in the river of *Thames*, betwixt three and foure hundred tunnes, which was finished in that perfection as could be required. For shee was pleasing to the eye, profitable for Stowage, good of Sayle, and well conditioned.

Of Shipping.

The day of her Lanching being appoynted, the Lady *Hawkins* (my Mother in Law) craued the naming of the Ship, which was easily granted her: who knowing what Voyage was pretended to be vndertaken, named her the *Repentance*: what her thoughts were, was kept secret to her selfe; And although many times I expostulated with her, to declare the reason for giving her that vncouth name, I could never haue any other satisfaction, then that repentance was the safest Ship we could sayle in, to purchase the haven of Heaven. Well, I know, shee was no Propheteſſe, though a religious and most vertuous Lady, and of a very good vnderstanding.

Yet too propheticall it fell out by Gods secret Iudgementes, which in his Wisedome was pleased to reveale vnto vs by so vnknowne a way, and was sufficient for the present, to cause me to desist from the Enterprise, and to leaue the Ship to my Father, who willingly tooke her, and paid the entire charge of the building and furnishing of her, which I had concorted or paid. And this I did not for any superstition I haue in names, or for that I thinke them able to further or hinder any thing; for that all immediately dependeth vpon the Providence of Almightie God, and is disposed by him alone.

Improper Names for Shipping.

Yet advise I all persons ever (as neere as they can) by all meanes, and in all occasions, to presage vnto themselues the good they can, and in giving names to terrestriall Workes (especially to Ships) not to giue such as meerly represent the celestiall Character; for, few haue I knowne, or seene, come to a good end, which haue had such attributes. As was plainely seene in the *Revenge*, which was ever the vnfortunatest Ship, the late Queenes Maiestie had during her Raigne; for comming out of *Ireland*, with Sir *Iohn Parrot*, shee was like to be cast away vpon the *Kentish* Coast. After in the Voyage of Sir *Iohn Hawkins* my Father, Anno 1586. shee strucke aground comming into *Plimouth*, before her going to Sea: Vpon the coast of *Spaine*, shee left her Fleete, readie to sinke with a great Leake: At her returne into the Harbour of *Plimouth*, shee beate vpon *Winter stone*; and after in the same Voyage, going out of *Portsmouth* Haven, shee ranne twice a-ground; and in the latter of them, lay twentie two houres beating vpon the shore, and at length

The Revenge.

with

with eight foote of water in hold, ſhee was forced off, and preſently ranne vpon the Ooſe: and was cauſe, that ſhee remained there (with other three Ships of her Maieſties) ſix moneths, till the Spring of the yeare; When comming about to bee decked, entring the river of *Thames*, her old Leake breaking vpon her, had like to haue drowned all thoſe which were in her. In Anno 1591. with a ſtorme of wind and weather, riding at her Moorings in the river of *Rocheſter*, nothing but her bare Maſts over head, ſhee was turned topſe-turvie, her Kele vppermoſt: And the coſt and loſſe ſhee wrought, I haue too good cauſe to remember; in her laſt Voyage, in which ſhee was loſt, when ſhee gaue *England* and *Spaine* iuſt cauſe to remember her. For the *Spaniards* themſelues confeſſe, that three of their Ships ſunke by her ſide, and was the death of aboue 1500. of their men, with the loſſe of a great part of their fleete, by a ſtorme which ſuddainly tooke them the next day. What *Engliſh* died in her, many liuing, are witneſſes: Amongſt which was Sir *Richard Greenfeild*, a noble and valiant Gentleman, Vice-admirall in her of her Maieſties Fleete. So that well conſidered, ſhee was euen a Ship loaden, and full fraught with ill ſucceſſe.

See M. Hacluits Relations.

The like wee might behold in the *Thunderbolt* of *London*, who in one Voyage (as I remember) had her Maſt cleft with a Thunderbolt, vpon the Coaſt of *Barbary*. After in *Dartmouth*, going for Admirall of the Whaftage, and guard of the Fleete for the River of *Bourdieux*, had alſo all her Poope blowne vp with fire ſodainly, and vntill this day, never could be knowne the cauſe, or manner how: And laſtly, ſhee was burned with her whole Companie in the River of *Bourdieux*, and Maſter *Edward Wilſon*, Generall in her, ſlaine by his enemies, having eſcaped the fire.

The Thunderbolt of London.

The ſucceſſe of the *Ieſus* of *Lubecke*, in Saint *Iohn de Vlua*, in the *Nona Spania*, infamous to the *Spaniardes*; with my *Repentance* in the South Sea, taken by force, hath vtterly impoueriſhed, and ouerthrowne our houſe.

The Ieſus of Lubeck. The Repentance.

The *Iourney* of *Spaine* pretended for *England*, Anno 1587. called the *Iourney of Reuenge*, left the principall of their men and Ships on the Rockes of *Cape Finiſter*, and the reſt made a lamentable end, for the moſt part in the *Groyne*. No more for this poynt, but to our purpoſe.

The Iourney of Spaine.

SECT. II.

THE REPENTANCE being put in perfection, and riding at *Detford*, the Queenes Maieſtie paſſing by her, to her Pallace of *Greenwych*, commanded her Bargemen to Row round about her, and viewing her from Poſt to Stemme, diſliked nothing but her Name, and ſaid, that ſhee would Chriſten her a new, and that thenceforth ſhee ſhould be called the *Daintie*; which name ſhee brooked as well for her proportion and grace, as for the many happie Voyages ſhee made in her Maieſties ſervices; Having taken (for her Maieſtie) a great *Byſſen*, of fiue hundred Tunnes, loaden with Iron, and other Commodities, vnder the conduct of Sir *Martin Furbuſſher*; A *Caracke* bound for the *Eaſt Indies*, vnder my Fathers charge, and the principall cauſe of taking the great *Caracke*, brought to *Dartmouth* by Sir *Iohn Borrow*, and the Earle of *Cumberlands* Shippes, Anno 1592. with others of moment in her other Voyages. To vs, ſhee never brought but coſt, trouble, and care. Therefore my Father reſolved to ſell her, though with ſome loſſe, which he imparted with me: and for that I had ever a particular loue vnto her, and a deſire ſhee ſhould continue ours, I offered to eaſe him of the charge and care of her, and to take her, with all her Furniture at the price he had before taken her of me; with reſolution, to put in execution the Voyage, for which ſhee was firſt builded; Although it lay ſix moneths and more in ſuſpence, partly, vpon the pretended Voyage for *Nombrededios* and *Panama*, which then was freſh a foote; and partly, vpon the *Caracke* at *Dartmouth*, in which I was imployed as a Commiſſioner: but this Buſineſſe being ended, and the other pretence waxing colde, the firſt of March I reſolved, and beganne to goe forward with the iourney, ſo often talked of, and ſo much deſired.

Conſiderations for pretended Voyages.

And having made an eſtimate of the charge of Victualls, Munition, Impreſts, Sea-ſtore, and neceſſaries for the ſayd Ship; conſorting another of an hundred Tunnes, which I waited for daily from the Straites of *Giberalter*, with a Pynace of ſixtie Tunnes, all mine owne: And for a competent number of Men for them; as alſo of all ſorts of Marchandiſes for trade and traffique in all places where wee ſhould come; I began to wage men, to buy all manner of victualls and proviſions, and to lade her with them, and with all ſorts of Commodities (which I could call to minde) fitting;

and

and diſpatched order to my ſervant in *Plimouth*, to put in a readineſſe my Pynace; as alſo to take vp certaine Proviſions, which are better cheape in thoſe parts then in *London*, as Beefe, Porke, Bisket, and Sider. And with the diligence I vſed, and my Fathers furtherance, at the end of one Moneth, I was readie to ſet Sayle for *Plimouth*, to ioyne with the reſt of my Shippes and Proviſions. But the expecting of the comming of the *Lord high Admirall*, Sir *Robert Cecill*, principall Secretary to her Maieſtie, and Sir *Walter Rawley*, with others, to honour my Shippe and me, with their preſence and farewell, detayned me ſome dayes; and the rayne and vntemperate weather deprived me of the favour, which I was in hope to haue received at their hands; Wherevpon, being loath to looſe more time, and the Winde ſerving according to my wiſh, the eight of Aprill 1593. I cauſed the Pilot to ſet Sayle from *Blackwall*, and to *vayle* downe to *Graues-end*, whether that night I purpoſed to come.

Proviſions better provided at *Plimmouth*, then at *London*.

Having taken my vnhappy laſt leaue of my Father Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, I tooke my Barge, and rowed downe the River, and comming to *Barking*, wee might ſee my Ship at an Anchor, in the midſt of the Channell, where Ships are not wont to more themſelues: this bred in me ſome alteration. And comming aboord her, one and other began to recant the perill they had paſt of loſſe of Ship and goods, which was not little; for the winde being at Eaſt North-caſt, when they ſet ſayle, and vered out Southerly; it forced them for the doubling of a point to bring their tacke aboard, and looffing vp; the winde freſhing, ſodenly the Shipp began to make a little hele; and for that ſhee was very deepe loaden, and her ports open, the water began to enter in at them; which no bodie having regard vnto, thinking themſelues ſafe in the River, it augmented in ſuch maner, as the waight of the water began to preſſe downe the ſide, more then the winde: At length when it was ſeene and the ſhete flowne, ſhee could hardly be brought vpright. But God was pleaſed, that with the diligence and travell of the Company, ſhee was freed of that danger: which may be a gentle warning to all ſuch as take charge of Shipping, even before they ſet ſayle, eyther in River or Harbour, or other part, to haue an eye to their ports, and to ſee thoſe ſhut and cailked, which may cauſe danger; for avoyding the many miſhaps, which dayly chance for the neglect thereof, and haue beene moſt lamentable ſpectacles and examples vnto vs: Experiments in the *great Harry*, Admirall of England, which was over-ſet and ſuncke at *Ports-mouth* with her Captaine, *Carew*,

Note.

and the moſt part of his company drowned in a goodly Summers day, with a little ſlawe of winde; for that her ports were all open, and making a ſmall hele, by them entred their deſtruction; where if they had beene ſhut, no wind could haue hurt her, eſpecially in that place.

In the River of *Thames*, Maſter *Thomas Candiſh* had a ſmall Ship over-ſet through the ſame negligence. And one of the Fleete of Syr *Francis Drake*, in *Santo Domingo* Harbour, turned her keele vpward likewiſe, vpon the ſame occaſion; with many others, which wee never haue knowledge of.

And when this commeth to paſſe, many times negligence is cloaked with the fury of the winde: which is a double fault; for the truth being knowne, others would bee warned to ſhun the like neglects; for it is a very bad Ship, whoſe Maſts crackt not aſunder, whoſe Sayles and tackling flie not in peeces, before ſhee over-ſet; eſpecially if ſhee be Engliſh built. And that which overſetteth the Ship is the waight of the water, that preſſeth downe the ſide, which as it entreth more and more, increaſeth the waight, and the impoſſibilitie of the remedie: For the water not entring, with eaſing of the ſheate, or ſtriking the ſayles, or putting the Ship before the winde or Sea, or other diligences, as occaſion is offered (and all expert Mariners know) remedie is eaſily found.

With this miſchaunce the Mariners were ſo daunted, that they would not proceede with the Ship any further, except ſhee were lighted, which indeede was needeleſſe, for many reaſons which I gaue: but Mariners are like to a ſtiffe necked Horſe, which taking the bridle betwixt his teeth, forceth his Rider to what him liſt mauger his will: ſo they hauing once concluded, and reſolved, are with great difficultie brought to yeelde to the raynes of reaſon: And to colour their negligence, they added coſt, trouble, and delay. In fine, ſeeing no other remedie, I diſpatched that night a ſervant of mine to giue account to my Father of that which had paſt, and to bring mee preſently ſome Barke of *London* to goe along with mee to *Plymouth*; which not finding, he brought me a Hoye, in which I loaded ſome ſixe or eight tunns, to giue content to the company; and ſo ſet ſayle the 13. of Aprill, and the next day wee put in at *Harwich*, for that the winde was contrary, and from thence departed the 18. of the ſayd Moneth in the morning.

When wee were cleere of the Sands, the winde vered to the South-weſt, and ſo we were forced to put into *Margat* Roade, whether

ther came preſently after vs a Fleete of Hollanders of aboue an hundreth Sayle, bound for *Rochell* to loade ſalt: and in their companie a dozen ſhips of Warre; their waſters very good ſhips and well appointed in all reſpects. All which came alongſt by our ſhip, and ſaluted vs, as is the cuſtome of the Sea, ſome with three, others with fiue, others with more peeces of Ordinance.

The next morning the winde vering Eaſterly, I ſet ſayle, and the Hollanders with me, and they with the flood in hand, went out at the North-ſands-head; and I through the *Gulls* to ſhorten my way, and to ſet my Pilate a ſhore.

Comming neere the South-fore-land, the winde began to vere to the South-eaſt and by ſouth, ſo as we could not double the point of the Land, and being cloſe abourd the ſhore, and putting our ſhip to ſtay, what with the chapping Sea, and what with the Tide vpon the Bowe, ſhee miſt ſtaying, and put vs in ſome daunger, before wee could ſtart about; therefore for doubling the point of any land better is euer a ſhort bourd, then to put all in perill. Note.

Being tacked about wee thought to anchor in the Downes, but the ſayles ſet, we made a ſmall bourd, and after caſting about againe, doubled the foreland, and ran alongſt the Coaſt till we came to the Ile of *Wight*: where being becalmed wee ſent a ſhore Maſter *Thomſon* of *Harwich* our Pilot, not being able before to ſet him on ſhore for the perverſnes of the winde.

Being cleere of the *Wight*, the winde vered Southerly; and before wee came to *Port-land*, to the weſt, South-weſt, but with the helpe of the ebbe wee recovered *Port-land* roade, where we anchored all that night; and the next morning with the ebbe, wee ſet ſayle againe, the winde at weſt South-weſt; purpoſing to beare it vp, all the ebbe, and to ſtop the flood being vnder ſayle.

SECTION III.

THe Fleete of Flemings which had beene in our company before, came towing into the road, which certainly was a thing worth the noting, to behold the good order the Maſters obſerved in guard of their fleete. The Providence of the Dutch.

The Admirall headmoſt the reſt of the men of Warre, ſpread alongſt to wind-ward, all ſaving the vice-Admirall and her conſort, which were lee-moſt and ſtern-moſt of all, and except the Admirall, which was the firſt, that came to an Anchor; None of the o-

ther men of warre anchored, before all the Fleete was in safetie; and then they placed themselues round about the Fleete; the Vice-Admirall Seamost and Leemost; which we haue taught vnto most Nations, and they obserue it now a dayes better then we, to our shame, that being the Authors and reformers of the best Discipline and Lawes in Sea causes, are become those which doe now worst execute them.

The English, Authors of Sea discipline.

And I cannot gather whence this contempt hath growne, except of the neglect of Discipline, or rather in giuing commands for fauour to those, which want experience of what is committed to their charge: Or that there hath beene little curiositie in our countrey, in writing of the *Discipline* of the *Sea*; which is not lesse necessary for vs, then that of the *Law*; And I am of opinion, that the want of experience is much more tollerable in a *Generall* by Land, then in a *Gouernour* by Sea. For in the field the Lieutenant Generall, the Sergeant Maior, and the *Coronels* supply what is wanting in the Generall, for that they all command; and ever there is place for Counsell, which in the Sea by many accidents is denied: and the head is he that manageth all, in whom alone if there be defect, all is badly governed; for, by ignorance how can errors be iudged, or reformed? And therefore I wish all to take vpon them that, which they vnderstand, and refuse the contrary.

By them againe neglected.

As Sir *Henry Palmer*, a wise and valiant Gentleman, a great commander, and of much experience in Sea causes, being appoynted by the Queenes Maiesties Counsell, to goe for Generall of a Fleete for the coast of *Spaine*, Anno 1583. submitting himselfe to their Lordships pleasure, excused the charge, saying, that his trayning vp had beene in the narrow Seas; and that of the other, he had little experience. And therefore was in dutie bound to intreate their Honours, to make choice of some other person, that was better acquainted, and experimented in those Seas; that her Maiestie, and their Lordships might be the better serued. His modestie and discretion is doubtlesse to be had in remembrance, and great estimation; For the ambition of many which couet the command of Fleetes, and places of government (not knowing their Compasse, nor how, nor what to command) doe purchase to themselues shame; and losse to those that employ them: Being required in a Commander at Sea, a sharpe wit, a good vnderstanding, experience in shipping, practise in mannagement of Sea busines, knowledge in Nauigation, and in command: I hold it much better to deserue it, and not to haue it, then to haue it not deserving it.

The modestie of Sir *Henry Palmer*.

Parts required in a Commander at Sea.

SECT. IV.

THe fruits and inconveniences of the latter we daily partake of, to our loſſe and diſhonor. As in the Fleete that went for *Burdieux*, Anno 1592. which had ſix Gallant Ships for Waſters. At their going out of *Plimouth*, the Vice-admirall that ſhould haue beene ſtarnmoſt of all, was the headmoſt, and the Admirall the light, and he that did execute the office of the Vice-admirall, lanching off into the Sea, drew after him the greater part of the Fleete, and night comming on, and both bearing lights, cauſed a ſeparation: ſo that the head had a quarter of the bodie, and the Fleete three quarters, and he that ſhould goe before, came behinde. Whereof enſued, that the three parts meeting with a few Spaniſh Men of Warre, wanting their head, were a prey vnto them. For the Vice-admirall, and other Waſters, that ſhould be the Shepheards to guard and keepe their flocke, and to carry them in ſafetie before them, were headmoſt, and they the Men who made moſt haſt to flie from the Wolfe. Whereas if they had done as they ought, in place of loſſe and infamie, they had gained honor and reward.

The loſſe of the *Burdieux* Fleete, Anno 1592.

The cauſe.

This I haue beene enformed of by the *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh*, which were preſent in the occaſion. And a ſhip of mine, being one of the Starnmoſt, freed her ſelfe, for that ſhee was in warlike manner, with her falſe Netting, many Pendents and Streamers, and at leaſt 16. or 18. Peeces of Artillery; the enemie thinking her to be a Waſter, or Ship of warre, not one of them durſt lay her aboord: and this the Maſter and company vaunted of at their returne.

In the ſame Voyage, in the river of *Burdieux* (as is credibly reported) if the ſix Waſters had kept together, they had not onely not received domage, but gotten much Honour and Reputation. For the Admirall of the Spaniſh *Armado*, was a Flemiſh Shippe, of not aboue 130. Tunnes, and the reſt Flie-boates and ſmall ſhipping, for the moſt part.

The weakneſs of the enemy.

And although they were 22. Sayle in all, what manner of Ships they were, and how furniſhed and appoynted, is well knowne, with the difference.

In the Fleete of her Maieſtie, vnder the charge of my Father Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, Anno 1590. vpon the coaſt of *Spaine*, the Vice-admirall being a head one morning, where his place was to be a

The Voyage of Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, Anno 1590.

Sterne, loſt vs the taking of eight men of Warre, loaden with Munition, Victuals, and Proviſions, for the ſupplie of the Souldiers in *Brittaine*: and although they were ſeaven or eight Leagues from the Shore, when our Vice-admirall began to fight with them, yet for that the reſt of our Fleete were ſome foure, ſome fiue Leagues, and ſome more diſtant from them, when we beganne to giue chaſe: the *Spaniards* recouered into the Harbour of *Monge*, before our Admirall could come vp to giue direction, yet well beaten, with loſſe of aboue two hundreth men, as they themſelues confeſſed to me after.

And doubtleſſe, if the winde had not ouer-blowne, and that to follow them, I was forced to ſhut all my lower ports, the ſhip I vndertooke, doubtles had never endured to come to the Port; but being doubble Fli-boates, and all good of Sayle, they bare for their liues, and we what we could to follow and fetch them vp.

Sir *Richard Greenfield* at *Flores*.

In this poynt, at the Ile of *Flores*, Sir *Richard Greenfield* got eternall honour and reputation of great valour, and of an experimented Souldier, chuſing rather to ſacrifice his life, and to paſſe all danger whatſoeuer, then to fayle in his Obligation, by gathering together thoſe which had remained a ſhore in that place, though with the hazard of his ſhip and companie; And rather we ought to imbrace an honourable death, then to liue with infamie and diſhonour, by fayling in dutie; and I account that he, and his Country, got much honor in that occaſion: for one ſhip, and of the ſecond ſort of her Maieſties, ſuſtained the force of all the Fleete of *Spaine*, and gaue them to vnderſtand, that they be impregnible, for having bought deerely the boording of her, divers and ſundry times, and with many ioyntly, and with a continuall fight of 14. or 16. houres, at length leaving her without any Maſt ſtanding, and like a Logge in the Seas, ſhee made notwithſtanding, a moſt honourable compoſition of life and libertie, for aboue two hundreth and ſixtie men, as by the Pay-booke appeareth: which her Maieſtie of her free grace commanded in recompence of their ſervice, to be given to every one his ſix moneths wages. All which may worthily be written in our Chronicles in letters of Gold, in memory for all Poſtericties, ſome to beware, and others by their example in the like occaſions, to imicate the true valour of our Nation in theſe Ages.

Captaine *Vaviſor*.

In point of Providence, which Captaine *Vaviſor* in the *foreſight* gaue alſo good proofe of his valour, in caſting about vpon the whole Fleete, notwithſtanding the greatneſſe and multitude of the Spaniſh *Armado*, to yeeld that ſuccour which he was able; Although ſome doe ſay, and I conſent with them, that the beſt valour

is to obey, and to follow the head, ſeeme that good or bad which is commanded. For God himſelfe telleth vs, that obedience is better then ſacrifice. Yet in ſome occaſions, where there is difficultie, or impoſſibilitie to know what is commanded; many times it is great diſcretion and obligation, iudiciouſly to take hold of the occaſion, to yeeld ſuccour to his aſſociats, without putting himſelfe in manifeſt danger. But to our Voyage.

SECT. V.

BEing cleare of the race of *Portland*, the Wind began to ſuffle with fogge and miſling rayne, and forced vs to a ſhort ſayle, which continued with vs three dayes; the Wind never vering one poynt, nor the fogge ſuffering vs to ſee the Coaſt.

The third day in the fogge, we met with a Barke of *Dartmouth*, which came from *Rochell*, and demanding of them, if they had made any land, anſwered, that they had onely ſeene the *Edie ſtone* that morning, which lyeth thwart of the ſound of *Plimouth*, and that *Dartmouth* (as they thought) bare off vs North North-eaſt: which ſeemed ſtrange vnto vs; for we made account that wee were thwart of *Exmouth*: within two houres after, the Weather beganne to cleare vp, and we found our ſelues thwart of the *Berry*, and might ſee the ſmall Barke bearing into *Torbay*, having over-ſhot her port: which error often happeneth to thoſe that make the land in foggie weather, and vſe not good diligence by ſound, by lying off the land, and other circumſtances, to ſearch the truth; and is cauſe of the loſſe of many a Ship, and the ſweete liues of multitudes of men.

That evening, we anchored in the range of *Dartmouth*, till the floud was ſpent; and the ebbe come, wee ſet Sayle againe. And the next morning early, being the 26. of Aprill, wee harboured our ſelues in *Plimouth*.

My Ship at an Anchor, and I aſhore, I preſently diſpatched a meſſenger to *London*, to adviſe my Father, Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, what had paſt: which, not onely to him, but to all others, that vnderſtood what it was, ſeemed ſtrange; That the wind contrary, and the weather ſuch as it had beene, wee could be able to gaine *Plimouth*; But doubtleſſe, the *Daintie* was a very good Sea ſhip, and excellent by the winde; which with the neap ſtreames, and our diligence to benefit our ſelues of all advantages, made ſenſible that, which almoſt was not to be beleeved.

Parts requisite in a good Mariner.

And in this occasion, I found by experience, that one of the principall parts required in a Mariner, that frequenteth our coastes of *England*, is to cast his Tydes, and to know how they set from poynt to poynt, with the difference of those in the Channell from those of the shore.

SECT. VI.

NOw presently I began to prepare for my Dispatch, and to hasten my Departure; and finding that my Ship which I expected from the *Straites*, came not; and that shee was to goe to *London* to discharge; and vncertaine how long shee might stay; I resolved to take another of mine owne in her place, though lesser, called the *Hawke*, onely for a Victualler; purposing in the coast of *Brasill*, or in the *Straites*, to take out her men, and Victualls, and to cast her off.

SECT. VII.

WIth my continuall travell, the helpe of my good friends, and excessiue charge (which none can easily beleeue, but those which haue prooved it) towardes the end of May, I was readie to set sayle with my three Ships, drawne out into the sound, and began to gather my Company aboord.

The 28. of May (as I remember) began a storme of winde Westerly; the two lesser shippes presently harboured themselues, and I gaue order to the master of the *Daintie* (called *Hugh Cornish*) one of the most sufficientest men of his coate, to bring her also into *Catt-water*, which he laboured to doe, but being neere the mouth of the harbour, and doubting least the Anchor being weighed, the Ship might cast the contrary way, and so run on some perill, entertained himselfe a while in laying out a warpe, and in the meane time, the wind freshing, and the ship riding by one Anchor, brake the flooke of it, and so forced them to let fall another: by which, and by the warpe they had layd out, they rydd. The storme was such, as being within hearing of those vpon the shore, we were not able by any meanes to send them succour, and the second day of the storme,

A cruell Storme.

ſtorme, deſiring much to goe aboord, there ioyned with me Captaine *William Anthony*, Captaine *Iohn Ellis*, and maſter *Henry Courton*, in a Light-Horſman which I had: all men exerciſed in charge, and of valour and ſufficiencie, and from their youth bred vp in buſineſſe of the Sea: which notwithſtanding, and that wee laboured what we could, for the ſpace of two houres againſt waues and wind, we could finde no poſſibilitie to accompliſh our deſire; which ſeene; we went aboord the other Shippes, and put them in the beſt ſecuritie wee could; thus buſied, we might ſee come driving by vs the mayne Maſt of the *Daintie*: which made me to feare the worſt, and ſo haſted a-ſhore, to ſatisfie my longing.

And therein the effects of courage and advice.

And comming vpon *Cats-downe*, wee might ſee the Ship heaue and ſett, which manifeſtly ſhewed, the loſſe of the Maſt onely, which was well imployed; for, it ſaved the ſhip, men, and goods. For had ſhee driven a ſhips length more, ſhee had (no doubt) beene caſt away; and the men in that place could not chuſe but run into danger.

Comming to my houſe to ſhift me (for that we were all wett to the skinne) I had not well changed my Clothes, when a ſervant of mine, who was in the Pynace at my comming aſhore, enters almoſt out of breath, with newes, that ſhee was beating vpon the Rockes, which though I knew to be remedileſſe, I put my ſelfe in place where I might ſee her, and in a little time after ſhee ſunke downe right: Theſe loſſes and miſchances troubled and grieved, but nothing daunted me; for common experience taught me, that all honourable Enterpriſes, are accompanied with difficulties and daungers; *Si fortuna me tormenta*; *Eſperança me contenta*: Of hard beginnings, many times come proſperous and happie events. And although, a well-willing friend, wiſely foretold me them to be preſages of future bad ſucceſſe, and ſo diſſwaded me what lay in him, with effectuall reaſons, from my Pretence, yet the hazard of my credite, and danger of diſreputation, to take in hand that which I ſhould not proſecute by all meanes poſſible, was more powerfull to cauſe me to goe forwardes, then his graue good counſell, to make me deſiſt. And ſo the ſtorme ceaſing, I beganne to get in the *Daintie*, to Maſt her a-new, and to recover the *Fancy*, my Pynace: which with the helpe and furtherance of my Wives Father, who ſupplyed all my wants, together with my credit (which I thanke God was vnſpotted) in ten dayes put all in his former eſtate, or better. And ſo once againe, in Gods name, I brought my Shippes out into the ſound, the Wind being Eaſterly, and beganne to take my leaue of my friends, and of my deareſt friend, my ſecond ſelfe, whoſe vnfey-

The loſſe of the Pynace.

ned teares had wrought me vnto irresolution, and sent some other in my roome, had I not considered, that he that is in the Daunce, must needs daunce on, though he doe but hopp, except he will be a laughing stocke to all the lookers on: So, remembring that many had their eyes set vpon me, with diverse affections, as also the hope of good successe, (my intention being honest and good) I shut the doore to all impediments, and mine eare to all contrary counsell, and gaue place to voluntary banishment from all that I loued and esteemed in this life, with hope thereby better to serue my God, my Prince and Countrie, then to encrease my Tallent any way.

Abuses of some Sea-faring men.

And so began to gather my companie aboord, which occupied my good friends, and the Iustices of the Towne two dayes, and forced vs to search all Lodgings, Tavernes, and Ale-houses. (For some would ever be taking their leaue and never depart:) some drinke themselues so drunke, that except they were carried aboord, they of themselues were not able to goe one steppe: others knowing the necessitie of the time, fayned themselues sicke; others, to be indebted to their Hostes, and forced me to ransome them; one his Chest; another, his Sword; another, his Shirts; another, his Carde and Instruments for Sea: And others, to benefit themselues of the Impresst given them, absented themselues; making a lewd living in deceiving all, whose money they could lay hold of; which is a scandall too rise amongst our Sea-men; by it they committing three great offences: 1. Robbery of the goods of another person; 2. Breach of their faith and promise; 3. and hinderance (with losse of time) vnto the Voyage; all being a common iniury to the owners, victuallers, and company; which many times hath beene an vtter overthrow, and vndoing to all in generall. An abuse in our Common-wealth necessarily to be reformed; And, as a person that hath both seene, and felt by experience these inconveniences, I wish it to be remedied; For, I can but wonder, that the late *Lord high Admirall* of *England*; the late Earle of *Cumberland*; and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, now Earle of *Suffolke*, being of so great authoritie, having to their costs and losse so often made experience of the inconveniences of these lewd proceedings, haue not vnited their Goodnesses and Wisedomes, to redresse this dis-loyall and base absurditie of the Vulgar.

Master Thomas Candish.

Master *Thomas Candish* in his last Voyage, in the sound of *Plimouth*, being readie to set Sayle, complained vnto me, that persons which had absented themselues in Impresta, had cost him aboue a thousand and five hundred pounds: These Varlets within a few

dayes after his departure, I ſaw walking the ſtreetes of *Plimouth*, whom the Iuſtice had before ſought for with great diligence, and without puniſhment. And therefore it is no wonder that others preſume to doe the like. *Impunitas peccandi illecebra.*

The like complaint made maſter *George Reymond*; and in what ſort they dealt with me, is notorious, and was ſuch, that if I had not beene provident, to haue had a third part more of men, then I had need of, I had beene forced to goe to the Sea vnmanned; or to giue over my Voyage. And many of my company, at Sea vaunted, how they had coſoned the Earle of *Cumberland*, maſter *Candiſh*, maſter *Reymond*, and others, ſome of fiue poundes, ſome of ten, ſome of more, and ſome of leſſe. And truely, I thinke, my Voyage proſpered the worſe, for theirs and other lewd perſons company, which were in my Ship: which, I thinke, might be redreſſed by ſome extraordinary, ſevere, and preſent Iuſtice to be executed on the offenders by the Iuſtice in that place, where they ſhould be found. And for finding them, it were good that all Captaines, and Maſters of Shippes, at their departure out of the Port, ſhould giue vnto the head Iuſtice, the names and ſignes of all their runnawayes, and they preſently to diſpatch to the nigher Ports the aduiſe agreeable, where meeting with them, without further delay or proceſſe, to vſe Martiall Law vpon them. Without doubt, ſeeing the Law once put in execution, they and all others would be terrified from ſuch villanies.

Maſter *George Reymond.*

It might be remedied alſo by vtter taking away of all Impreſts, which is a thing lately crept into our Common-wealth, and in my opinion of much more hurt then good vnto all; and although my opinion ſeeme harſh, it being a deed of charitie to helpe the needy, (which I wiſh ever to be exerciſed, and by no meanes will contradict) yet for that ſuch as goe to the Sea (for the moſt part) conſume that money lewdly before they depart, (as common experience teacheth vs:) and when they come from Sea, many times come more beggerly home, then when they went forth, hauing receiued and ſpent their portion, before they imbarked themſelues, and having neither rent nor maintenance more then their trauell, to ſuſtaine themſelues, are forced to thecue, to coſen, or to runne away in debt. Beſides, many times it is an occaſion to ſome to lye vpon a Voyage a long time; whereas, if they had not that Impreſt, they might perhaps haue gayned more in another imployment, and haue beene at home againe, to ſerue that which they waite for. For theſe, and many more weighty reaſons, I am ſtill bold, to maintaine my former Aſſertions.

The inconvenience of Impreſts.

The true vse of Impresta.

Those onely vsed in his Maiesties Shippes I comprehend not in this my opinion: neither the Impresta made to married men, which would be given to their Wiues monethly in their absence, for their reliefe. For that is well knowne, that all which goe to the Sea now a-dayes, are provided of foode, and house-roome, and all things necessary, during the time of their Voyage; and in all long Voyages, of apparell also: so that nothing is to be spent during the Voyage. That money which is wont to be cast away in Impresta, might be imployed in apparell, and necessaries at the sea, and given to those that haue need, at the price it was bought, to be deducted out of their shares or wages at their returne, which is reasonable and charitable. This course taken, if any would runne away, in Gods name fare him well.

Some haue a more colourable kinde of cunning to abuse men, and to sustaine themselues. Such will goe to Sea with all men, and goe never from the shore. For as long as boord-wages last, they are of the Company, but those taking end, or the ship in readinesse, they haue one excuse or other, and thinke themselues no longer bound, but whilst they receiue money, and then plucke their heads out of the collet. An abuse also worthie to be reformed.

Sect. VIII.

The inconueniences of lingring.

THe greater part of my Companie gathered aboord, I set sayle the 12. of June 1593. about three of the Clocke in the afternoone, and made a bourd or two off and in, wayting the returne of my boat, which I had sent a-shore, for dispatch of some businesse: which being come aboord, and all put in Order, I looft neere the shore, to giue my farewell to all the Inhabitants of the Towne, whereof the most part were gathered together vpon the *Howe*, to shew their gratefull correspondency, to the loue and zeale which I, my Father, and Predecessors, haue ever borne to that place, as to our naturall and mother Towne. And first with my noyse of Trumpets, after with my waytes, and then with my other Musicke, and lastly, with the Artillery of my Shippes, I made the best signification I could, of a kinde farewell. This they answered with the Waytes of the Towne, and the Ordinance on the shore, and with shouting of voyces; which with the fayre evening and silence of the night, were heard a great distance off. All which taking

taking end, I ſent Inſtructions and Directions to my other Ships. Which is a poynt of ſpeciall importance; for that I haue ſeene Commanders of great name and reputation, by neglect and omiſſion of ſuch ſolemnities, to haue runne into many inconveniences, and thereby haue learnt the neceſſitie of it. Whereby I cannot but adviſe all ſuch, as ſhall haue charge committed vnto them, ever before they depart out of the Port, to giue vnto their whole Fleete, not onely Directions for civill government, but alſo where, when, and how to meete, if they ſhould chance to looſe company, and the ſignes how to know one another a-far off, with other poynts and circumſtances, as the occaſions ſhall miniſter matter different, at the diſcretion of the wiſe Commander.

The conſequence of Inſtructions at departure.

But ſome one may ſay vnto me, that in all occaſions it is not convenient to giue Directions: for that, if the enemy happen vpon any of the Fleete, or that there be any treacherous perſon in the company, their Deſignements may be diſcovered, and ſo prevented.

To this I anſwere, that the prudent Governour, by good conſideration may avoyde this, by publication of that which is good and neceſſarie for the guide of his Fleete and people; by all ſecret inſtructions, to giue them ſealed, and not to be opened, but comming to a place appoynted, (after the manner of the Turkiſh direction to the *Baſhawes*, who are their Generalls;) and in any eminent perill to caſt them by the boord, or otherwiſe to make away with them. For he that ſetteth Sayle, not giving directions in writing to his Fleete, knoweth not if the night or day following, he may be ſeparated from his Company; which happeneth ſometimes: and then, if a place of meeting be not knowne, he runneth in danger not to ioyne them together againe.

And for places of meeting, when ſeperation happeneth, I am of opinion, to appoynt the place of meeting in ſuch a height, twentie, or thirtie, or fortie Leagues off the Land, or Iland. Eaſt, or Weſt, is not ſo fitting, if the place affoord it, as ſome ſound betwixt Ilands, or ſome Iland, or Harbour.

It may be alledged in contradiction, and with probable reaſon, that it is not fit for a Fleete to ſtay in a Harbour for one Ship, nor at an Anchor at an Iland, for being diſcovered, or for hindrance of their Voyage.

Obiections againſt meeting in Harbours.

Yet it is the beſt; for when the want is but for one or two ſhips, a Pynace or Ship may wayte the time appoynted, and remaine with direction for them. But commonly one Ship, though but a bad Sayler, maketh more haſt then a whole Fleete, and is at the meeting place firſt, if the accident be not very important.

Anſwered.

The place of meeting, if it might be, would be able to giue, at the least, refreshing of water and wood.

SECT. IX.

LAnching out into the Channell, the wind being at East and by South, and East South East, which blowing hard, and a flood in hand, caused a chapping Sea, and my Vice-admirall bearing a good Sayle made some water, and shooting off a peece of Ordinance, I edged towardes her, to know the cause; who answered me, that they had sprung a great Leake, and that of force they must returne into the sound, which seeing to be necessary, I cast about, where Anchoring, and going aboord, presently found, that betwixt Wind and Water, the Calkers had left a seame vncalked, which being filled vp with Pitch onely, the Sea labouring that out, had beene sufficient to haue sunke her in short space, if it had not beene discovered in time.

False Calking.

And truely there is little care vsed now adaies amongst our countrimen in this Profession, in respect of that which was vsed in times past, and is accustomed in *France*, in *Spaine*, and in other parts. Which necessitie will cause to be reformed in time, by assigning the portion that every workeman is to Calke; that if there bee damage through his default, he may be forced to contribute towards the losse, occasioned through his negligence.

For prevention thereof.

And for more securitie I hold it for a good custome vsed in some parts, in making an end of calking and pitching the ship, the next tide to fill her with water, which will vndoubtedly discover the defect, for no pitcht place without calking, can suffer the force and peaze of the water. In neglect whereof, I haue seene great damage and danger to ensue. The *Arke Royall* of his Maiesties, may serue for an example: which put all in daunger at her first going to the Sea, by a trivell-hole left open in the post, and covered onely with pitch. In this point no man can be too circumspect, for it is the security of ship, men, and goods.

Example.

Sect. X.

THis being remedied, I ſet ſayle in the morning and ran South-weſt, till we were cleere of *Vsſhent*; and then South ſouth-weſt, till we were ſome hundred Leagues off, where wee met with a great *Hulke*, of ſome fiue or ſixe hundred tunnes, well appointed, the which my company, (as is naturall to all Mariners) preſently would make a prize, and loaden with Spaniards goods, and without ſpeaking to her, wiſhed that the Gunner might ſhoote at her, to cauſe her to amaine. Which is a bad cuſtome received and vſed of many ignorant perſons, preſently to gun at all whatſoever they diſcover, before they ſpeake with them; being contrary to all diſcipline, and many times is cauſe of diſſention betwixt friends, and the breach of Amitie betwixt Princes; the death of many, and ſometimes loſſe of Shippes and all, making many obſtinate, if not deſperate: whereas in vſing common courteſie, they would better bethinke themſelues, and ſo with ordinarie proceeding (iuſtified by reaſon, and the cuſtome of all well diſciplined people) might perhaps many times breede an increaſe of Amitie, a ſuccour to neceſſity, and excuſe divers inconveniencies and ſutes, which haue impoveriſhed many: for it hath chanced by this errour, that two Engliſh ſhips, neither carrying flag for their perticular reſpects, to change each with other a dozen payre of ſhott, with hurt to both, being after too late to repent their follie. Yea a perſon of credit hath told mee, that two Engliſh men of Warre in the Night, haue layd each other aboord willingly, with loſſe of many men, and dammage to both, *onely for the fault*, of not ſpeaking one to the other; which might ſeeme to carrie with it ſome excuſe, if they had beene neere the ſhore, or that the one had beene a Hull, and the other vnder ſayle, in feare ſhee ſhould haue eſcaped, not knowing what ſhee was (though in the night it is no wiſedome to bourd with any ſhip) but in the maine Sea, and both deſiring to ioyne, was a ſufficient declaration, that both were ſeekers: and therefore by day or night, he that can ſpeake with the Ship hee ſeeth, is bound, vpon payne to bee reputed *voyd of good* Governement, to hayle her before hee ſhoote at her. Some man may ſay, that in the meane time, ſhee might gaine the winde: in ſuch cauſes and many others, neceſſi-

Adviſe for ſhooting at Sea.

Sundry miſchances for neglect thereof

Obiect.

Anſwer.

ty giveth exception to all Lawes; and experience teacheth what is fit to bee done.

Master Thomas Hampton.

Master *Thomas Hampton* once Generall of a Fleete of *Wasters*, sent to *Rochell*, *Anno* 1585. with secret instructions, considering (and as a man of experience) wisely vnderstanding his place and affaires, in like case shut his Eare to the instigations and provocations of the common sort, preferring the publique good of both Kingdomes before his owne reputation with the vulgar people: And as another *Fabius Maximus*, *cunctando restituit rem, non ponendo rumores ante salutem.* The French Kings Fleete comming where he was, and to winde-ward of him, all his Company were in an vproare; for that, hee would not shoote presently at them, before they saw their intention: wherein had beene committed three great faults: the first and principall, the breach of Amitie, betwixt the Princes and Kingdomes: the second, the neglect of common curtesie, in shooting before hee had spoken with them: and the third, in shooting first, being to lee-wards of the other.

The French and English Fleete salute one another.

Besides there was no losse of reputation, because the French Kings Fleete was in his owne Sea; and therfore for it to come to winde-ward, or the other to goe to lee-ward, was but that, which in reason was required, the Kingdomes being in peace and Amitie: For every Prince is to bee acknowledged and respected in his jurisdiction, and where hee pretendeth it to be his.

The French Generall, likewise seemed well to vnderstand what hee had in hand, for though he were farre superiour in forces, yet vsed hee the termes which were required; and comming within speech hayled them, and asked if there were peace or warre betwixt *England* and *France*: whereunto answere being made, that they knew of no other but peace; they saluted each other after the maner of the Sea, and then came to an Anchor all together; as and friends visited each other in their ships.

The English carry vp their flagg in the French Seas.

One thing the French suffered (vpon what occasion or ground I know not) that the English alwayes carried their flag displayed; which in all other partes and Kingdomes is not permitted; at least in our Seas, if a Stranger Fleete meete with any of his Maiesties ships, the forraigners are bound to take in their flags, or his Maiesties ships to force them to it, though thereof follow the breach of peace or whatsoever discommodity. And whosoever should not be iealous in this point, hee is not worthy to haue the commaund of a Cock-boat committed vnto him: yea no stranger ought to open his flag in any Port of England, where there is any shipp, or Fort of his Maiesties; vpon penaltie to loose his flagg, and to

The honour of his Maiesties ships.

pay

pay for the powder and ſhott ſpend vpon him. Yea, ſuch is the reſpect to his Maieſties Shippes in all places of his Dominions, that no Engliſh Ship diſplayeth the Flagge in their preſence, but runneth the like daunger, except they be in his Maieſties ſeruice: and then they are in predicament of the Kings Ships. Which good diſcipline in other Kingdomes is not in that regard as it ought, but ſometimes through ignorance, ſometimes of malice, neglect is made of that dutie and acknowledgement which is required, to the coſt and ſhame of the ignorant and malicious.

Practiſed at the comming in of King *Philip* into *England*.

In Queene *Maries* Raigne, King *Philip* of *Spaine* comming to marry with the Queene, and meeting with the Royall Navie of *England*, the Lord *William Haward*, High Admirall of *England*, would not conſent, that the King in the narrow Seas ſhould carrie his Flagge diſplayed, vntill he came into the Harbour of *Plimouth*.

And in the paſſage of *Dona Anna de Auſtria*.

I being of tender yeares, there came a Fleete of *Spaniards* of aboue fiftie ſayle of Shippes, bound for *Flaunders*, to fetch the Queene, *Dona Anna de Auſtria*, laſt wife to *Philip* the ſecond of *Spaine*, which entred betwixt the Iland and the Maine, without vayling their Top-ſayles, or taking in of their Flags: which my Father, Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, (Admirall of a Fleete of her Maieſties Shippes, then ryding in *Catt-water*) perceiving, commanded his Gunner to ſhoot at the flagge of the Admirall, that they might thereby ſee their error: which notwithſtanding, they perſeuered arrogantly to keepe diſplayed; whereupon the Gunner at the next ſhott, laſt the Admirall through and through, whereby the *Spaniards* finding that the matter beganne to grow to earneſt, tooke in their Flags and Top-ſayles, and ſo ranne to an Anchor.

The Generall preſently ſent his Boat, with a principall perſonage to expoſtulate the cauſe and reaſon of that proceeding, But my Father would not permit him to come into his Ship, nor to heare his Meſſage: but by another Gentleman commanded him to returne, and to tell his Generall, That he as much as in the Queenes Port and Chamber, he had neglected to doe the acknowledgment and reuerence, which all owe vnto her Maieſtie, (eſpecially her Ships being preſent) and comming with ſo great a Navie, he could not but giue ſuſpition by ſuch proceeding of malicious intention, and therefore required him, that within twelue houres he ſhould depart the Port: vpon paine to be held as a common enemy, and to proceed againſt him with force.

Which anſwere the Generall vnderſtanding, preſently imbarked himſelfe in the ſame Boat, and came to the *Ieſus of Lubecke*, and craued licence to ſpeake with my Father; which at the firſt was

denyed him, but vpon the second intreatie was admitted to enter the Ship, and to parley. The *Spaniſh* Generall began to demand, if there were Warres betwixt *England* and *Spaine*; who was answered, that his arrogant manner of proceeding, vſurping the Queene his Miſtreſſes right, as much as in him lay, had given ſufficient cauſe for breach of the Peace; And that he purpoſed preſently, to giue notice thereof to the Queene, and her Counſell; and in the meane time, that he might depart. Whereunto the *Spaniſh* Generall replyed, that he knew not any offence he had committed, and that he would be glad to know, wherein he had miſ-behaved himſelfe. My Father ſeeing he pretended to eſcape by ignorance, beganne to put him in mind of the cuſtome of *Spaine* and *Fraunce*, and many other parts, and that he could by no meanes be ignorant of that, which was common Right to all Princes in their Kingdomes; Demanding, if a Fleete of *England* ſhould come into any Port of *Spaine* (the Kings Maieſties Ships being preſent) if the *Engliſh* ſhould carry their Flags in the toppe, whether the *Spaniſh* would not ſhoot them downe; and if they perſevered, if they would not beate them out of their Port. The *Spaniſh* Generall confeſſed his fault, pleaded ignorance, not malice, and ſubmitted himſelfe to the penaltie my Father would impoſe: but intreated, that their Princes (through them) might not come to haue any jarre. My Father a while (as though offended) made himſelfe hard to be intreated, but in the end, all was ſhut vp, by his acknowledgement, and the auncient amitie renewed, by feaſting each other aboord and aſhore.

As alſo in her repaſſage.

The ſelfe ſame Fleete at their returne from *Flaunders*, meeting with her Maieſties Shippes in the Channell, though ſent to accompany the aforeſaid Queene, was conſtrained during the time that they were with the Engliſh, to vayle their Flagges, and to acknowledge that which all muſt doe that paſſe through the Engliſh Seas.

But to our Voyage.

(*)

Sect. XI.

COmming within the hayling of the *Hulke*, wee demanded whence ſhee was? Whether ſhee was bound? and what her loading? Shee anſwered, that ſhee was of *Denmarke* comming from *Spaine*, loaden with Salt: we willed her to ſtrike her Topſayles, which ſhee did, and ſhewed vs her Charter-parties, and Billes of loading, and then ſaluted vs, as is the manner of the Sea, and ſo departed.

Sect. XII.

THe next day the wind became Southerly, and ſomewhat too much, and my Shipps being all deepe loaden, began to feele the Tempeſt, ſo that wee not able to lye by it, neither a hull, nor a try, and ſo with an eaſie Sayle bare vp before the Wind, with intent to put into *Falmouth*; but God was pleaſed that comming within tenne leagues of *Sylly*, the wind vered to the North-eaſt, and ſo we went on in our Voyage.

Thwart of the *Flees* of *Bayon*, wee met with a ſmall Ship of Maſter *Waters* of *London*, called the *Elizabeth*, which came out of *Plimouth* ſome eyght dayes after vs: of whom wee enformed our ſelues of ſome particularities, and wrote certaine Letters to our Friends, making Relation of what had paſt till that day, and ſo tooke our farewell each of the other. The like we did with a ſmall *Carvell* of *Plimouth*, which wee mett in the height of the Rocke in *Portingall*.

From thence wee directed our courſe to the Ilands of *Madera*, and about the end of Iune, in the ſight of the *Ilands*, we deſcryed a Sayle ſome three leagues to the Eaſt wards, and a league to Windward of vs, which by her manner of working, and making, gaue vs to vnderſtand, that ſhee was one of the Kings Frigats. For ſhee was long and ſhugg, and ſpread a large Clewe, and ſtanding to the Weſt-wards, and wee to the Eaſt-wards to recover her Wake, when we eaſt about, ſhee beganne to vere ſtarne, and to goe away lasking, and within two glaſſes, it was plainely ſeene, that

ſhee went from vs, and ſo we followed on our courſe, and ſhee ſeeing that, preſently ſtroke her Topſayles, which our Pynace perceiving, and being within ſhot continued the Chaſe, till I ſhot off a Peece and called her away; which fault many runne into, thinking to get thereby, and ſometimes looſe themſelues by being too bold to venture from their Fleete; for it was impoſſible for vs, being to leeward, to take her, or to ſuccour our owne, ſhee being a Ship of about two hundreth Tunnes.

The dutie of Pynaces.

And Pynaces to meddle with Ships, is to buy Repentance at too deare a rate. For their office is, to wayte vpon their Fleete, in calmes (with their Oares) to follow a Chaſe, and in occaſions to Anchor neere the ſhore, when the greater Ships cannot, without perill; Aboue all, to be readie and obedient at every call. Yet will I not, that any wreſt my meaning; neither ſay I, that a Pynace, or ſmall Ship armed, may not take a great Ship vnarmed; for daily experience teacheth vs the contrary.

The *Madera* Ilands.

The *Madera* Ilands are two: the greater, called *La madera*, and the other *Porto Santo*; of great fertilitie, and rich in Sugar, Conſerves, Wine, and ſweet Wood, whereof they take their name. Other commodities they yeeld, but theſe are the principall. The chiefe Towne and Port is on the Souther ſide of the *Madera*, well fortified: they are ſubiect to the Kingdome of *Portingall*; the Inhabitants and Garriſon all *Portingalles*.

Canaria Ilands.

The third of Iuly, we paſt along the Ilands of *Canaria*, which haue the name of a Kingdome, and containe theſe ſeaven Ilands, *Grand Canaria*, *Tenerifa*, *Palma*, *Gomera*, *Lancerota*, *Forteventura*, and *Fierro*. Theſe Ilands haue abundance of Wine, Sugar, Conſerues, Orcall Pitch, Iron, and other Commodities, and ſtore of Cattell and Corne, but that a certaine Worme, called *Gorgoſho* breedeth in it, which eateth out the ſubſtance, leaving the huske in manner whole. The head Iland, where the Iuſtice, which they call *Audiencia*, is reſident, and whither all ſutes haue their appealation, and finall ſentence, is the *Grand Canaria*, although the *Tenerifa* is held for the better, and richer Iland, and to haue the beſt Sugar: and the Wine of the *Palma* is reputed for the beſt. The Pitch of theſe Ilands melteth not with the Sunne, and therefore is proper for the higher workes of Shipping. Betwixt *Forteventura* and *Lancerota* is a goodly ſound, fit for a meeting place for any Fleete. Where is good Anchoring, and abundance of many ſorts of Fiſh. There is water to be had in moſt of theſe Ilands, but with great vigilance. For the naturalls of them are venturous and hardie, and many times clime vp and downe the ſteepe

Gorgoſho.

Rockes

Rockes and broken hills, which ſeeme impoſſible, which I would hardly haue beleeved, had I not ſeene it, and that with the greateſt art and agilitie that may be: Their Armes for the moſt part, are Launces of nine or ten foote, with a head of a foote and halfe long, like vnto Boare-Speares, ſaue that the head is ſomewhat more broad.

Two things are famous in theſe Ilands, the Pike of *Teneriſa*, which is the higheſt Land in my iudgement that I haue ſeene, and men of credit haue told they haue ſeene it more then fortie leagues off. It is like vnto a Sugar loafe, and continually covered with Snow, and placed in the middeſt of a goodly vallie, moſt fertile, and temperate round about it. Out of which, going vp the pike, the colde is ſo great, that it is inſufferable, and going downe to the Townes of the Iland, the heate ſeemeth moſt extreame, till they approach neere the coaſt. The other is a Tree in the Iland *Fierro*, which ſome write and affirme, with the dropping of his leaues, to giue water for the ſuſtenance of the whole Iland, which I haue not ſeene, although I haue beene on ſhoare on the Iland: but thoſe which haue ſeene it, haue recounted this miſterie differently to that which is written, in this maner; That this Tree is placed in the bottome of a Valley, ever floriſhing with broad leaues, and that round about it are a multitude of goodly high Pynes, which over-top it, and as it ſeemeth were planted by the diuine prouidence, to preſerue it from Sunne and Wind. Out of this Valley ordinarily riſe every day, great vapours and exhalations, which by reaſon that the Sunne is hindered to worke his operation, with the height of the Mountaines towards the South-eaſt, convert themſelues into moyſture, and ſo bedewe all the Trees of the Valley, and from thoſe which over-top this Tree, drops downe the dewe vpon his leaues, and ſo from his leaues into a round Well of Stone, which the Naturals of the land haue made to receiue the water; of which the people and cattle haue great releiſe: but ſometimes it raineth and then the Inhabitants doe reſerue water for many dayes to come in their Ciſterns and Tynaxes, which is that they drinke of, and wherewith they principally ſuſtaine themſelues.

The Deſcription of *Teneriſ.*

Of a Tree in *Fierro.*

The Citty of the *Grand Canaria*, and chiefe Port is on the weſt ſide of the Iland; the head Towne and Port of *Teneriſa*, is towards the ſouth part, and the Port and Towne of the *Palmas* and *Gomera*, on the Eaſt ſide.

In *Gomera*, ſome three Leagues ſouth-ward from the Towne, is a great River of water, but all theſe Ilands are perilous to land in,

for the ſeege cauſed by the Ocean ſea, which alwayes is forcible, and requireth great circumſpection; whoſoever hath not vrgent cauſe, is either to goe to the Eaſt-wards, or to the weſt-wards of all theſe Ilands, as well to avoyd the calmes, which hinder ſometimes eight or ten dayes ſayling, as the contagion which their diſtemperature is wont to cauſe, and with it to breede Calenturas, which wee call burning Fevers. Theſe Ilands are ſayd to be firſt diſcovered by a French-man, called *Iohn de Betancourt*, about the yeare 1405. They are now a Kingdome ſubiect to Spaine.

The firſt diſcoverers of theſe Ilands.

SECT. XIII.

BEing cleare of the Ilands, wee directed our courſe for Cape *Blanco*, and two howres before Sunne ſet, we had ſight of a Carvell ſome League in the winde of vs, which ſeemed to come from *Gynea*, or the Ilands of *Cape de Verde*, and for that hee, which had the fery-watch, neglected to look out, being too lee-ward of the Ilands, and ſo out of hope of ſight of any ſhipp, for the little trade and contrariety of the winde, that though a man will, from few places hee can recover the Ilands: comming from the ſouth-wards, wee had the winde of her, and perhaps the poſſeſſion alſo, whereof men of Warre are to haue particular care: for in an houre and place vnlookt for, many times chance accidents contrary to the ordinary courſe and cuſtome, and to haue younkers in the top continually, is moſt convenient and neceſſary, not onely for deſcrying of ſayles and land, but alſo for any ſudden guſt or occaſion that may be offered.

Note.

Seeing my ſelfe paſt hope of returning backe, without ſome extraordinary accident, I began to ſet order in my Companie and victuals. And for that, to the ſouth-wards of the *Canaries*, is for the moſt part an idle Navigation, I deviſed to keepe my people occupied, as well to continue them in health (for that too much eaſe in hott Countries is neither profitable nor healthfull) as alſo to divert them from remembrance of their home; and from play, which breedeth many inconveniences, and other bad thoughts and workes which idlenes is cauſe of; and ſo ſhifting my company, as the cuſtome is, into Starboord and Larboord men, the halfe to watch and worke whileſt the others ſlept, and take reſt; I limited the three dayes of the weeke, which appertayned to each to be imploied

Exerciſes vpon the South-wards of the *Canaries*.

imployed in this manner: the one for the vſe and clenſing of their Armes, the other for roomeging, making of Sayles, Nettings, Decking, and Defences for our Shippes; and the third, for clenſing their bodies, mending and making their apparell, and neceſſaries, which though it came to be practiſed but once in ſeaven dayes, for that the Sabboth is ever to be reſerved for God alone, with the ordinary Obligation which each perſon had beſides, was many times of force to be omitted; And thus wee entertained our time with a fayre Wind, and in few dayes had ſight of the Land of *Barbary*, ſome dozen Leagues to the Northwards of *Cape Blacke*.

Before we came to the Cape, wee tooke in our Sayles, and made preparation of Hookes and Lines to Fiſh. For in all that Coaſt is great abundance of ſundry kinds of Fiſh, but eſpecially, of Porgus, which wee call Breames; many *Portingalls* and *Spaniards* goe yearely thither to fiſh, as our Country-men to the *New-found-land*, and within *Cape Blacke* haue good Harbour for reaſonable ſhipping, where they dry their Fiſh, paying a certaine eaſie tribute to the Kings Collector. In two houres wee tooke ſtore of Fiſh for that day, and the next: but longer it would not keepe good; and with this refreſhing ſet Sayle againe, and directed our courſe betwixt the Ilands of *Cape de Verd* and the Maine. Theſe Ilands are held to be ſcituate in one of the moſt vnhealthieſt Climates of the world, and therefore it is wiſedome to ſhunne the ſight of them, how much more to make abode in them. *Cape de Verd.*

In two times that I haue beene in them, either coſt vs the one halfe of our people, with Fevers and Fluxes of ſundry kinds; ſome ſhaking, ſome burning, ſome partaking of both; ſome poſſeſt with frenſie, others with ſloath, and in one of them it coſt me ſix moneths ſickneſſe, with no ſmall hazard of life: which I attribute to the diſtemperature of the ayre, for being within foureteene degrees of the Equinoctiall lyne, the Sunne hath great force all the yeare, and the more for that often they paſſe, two, three, and foure yeares without rayne; and many times the earth burneth in that manner as a man well ſhodd, cannot endure to goe where the Sunne ſhineth. *The vnwholſomneſſe thereof.* *The heate.*

With which extreame heate the bodie fatigated, greedily deſireth refreſhing, and longeth the comming of the Breze, which is the North-eaſt winde, that ſeldome fayleth in the after-noone at foure of the clocke, or ſooner: which comming cold and freſh, and finding the poores of the body open, and (for the moſt part) naked, penetrateth the very bones, and ſo cauſeth ſudden diſtem- *The Breze.*

perature, and ſundry manners of ſickneſſe, as the Subiects are divers wherevpon they worke.

Departing out of the Calmes of the Ilands, and comming into the freſh Breſe, it cauſeth the like, and I haue ſeene within two dayes, after that we haue partaked of the freſh ayre, of two thouſand men, aboue a hundreth and fiftie haue beene crazed in their health.

The remedie. The Inhabitants of theſe Ilands vſe a remedie for this, which at my firſt being amongſt them, ſeemed vnto me ridiculous, but ſince, time and experience hath taught to be grounded vpon reaſon. And is, that vpon their heads they weare a Night-capp, vpon it a Moutero, and a Hat over that, and on their bodies a ſute of thicke Cloth, and vpon it a Gowne, furr'd or lyned with Cotton, or Bayes, to defend them from the heate in that manner, as the Inhabitants of cold Countries, to guard themſelues from the extreamitie of the colde. Which doubtleſſe, is the beſt diligence that any man can vſe, and whoſoever prooveth it, ſhall find himſelfe leſſe annoyed with the heate, then if he were thinly Cloathed, for that where the cold ayre commeth, it peirceth not ſo ſubtilly.

The influence of the Moone in hot Countries. The Moone alſo in this Climate, as in the coaſt of *Guyne*, and in all hott Countries, hath forcible operation in the body of man; and therefore, as the Plannet, moſt preiudiciall to his health, is to be ſhunned; as alſo not to ſleepe in the open Ayre, or with any Scuttle or Window open, whereby the one, or the other, may enter to hurt.

For a perſon of credit told me, that one night in a river of *Guyne*, leaving his Window open in the ſide of his Cabin, the Moone ſhining vpon his ſhoulder, left him with ſuch an extraordinary paine, and furious burning in it, as in aboue twentie houres, he was like to runne madde, but in fine, with force of Medicines and cures, after long torment, he was eaſed.

Some I haue heard ſay, and others write, that there is a Starre which never ſeperateth it ſelfe from the Moone, but a ſmall diſtance; which is of all Starres the moſt beneficiall to man. For where this Starre entreth with the Moone, it maketh voyde her hurtfull enfluence, and where not, it is moſt perilous. Which if it be ſo, is a notable ſecret of the divine Providence, and a ſpeciall cauſe amongſt infinite others, to moue vs to continuall thankeſgiving; for that he hath ſo extraordinarily compaſſed and fenced vs from infinite miſeries, his moſt vnworthie and vngratefull Creatures.

Of theſe Ilands are two pyles: the one of them lyeth out of the way

way of Trade, more Weſterly, and ſo little frequented; the other lyeth ſome foureſcore Leagues from the Mayne, and containeth ſix in number, to wit; *Saint Iago*, *Fuego*, *Mayo*, *Bonaviſte*, *Sal*, and *Bravo*.

They are belonging to the Kingdome of Portingall, and inhabited by people of that Nation, and are of great trade, by reaſon of the neighbour-hood they haue with *Guyne* and *Bynne*; but the principall is, the buying and ſelling of *Negros*. They haue ſtore of Sugar, Salt, Rice, Cotton-wooll, and Cotton-Cloth, Amber-greece, Cyvit, Oliphants teeth, Brimſtone, Pummy ſtone, Spunge, and ſome Gold, but little, and that from the mayne.

Saint Iago is the head Iland, and hath one Citie and two Townes, with their Ports. The Cittie called *Saint Iago*, whereof the Iland hath his Name, hath a Garriſon, and two Fortes, ſcituared in the bottome of a pleaſant Valley, with a running ſtreame of water paſſing through the middeſt of it, whether the reſt of the Ilands come for Iuſtice, being the ſeat of the *Auaiencia*, with his Biſhop. *Saint Iago.*

The other Townes are *Playa*, ſome three Leagues to the Eaſtwards of *Saint Iago*, placed on high, with a goodly Bay, whereof it hath his name: and Saint *Domingo*, a ſmall Towne within the Land. They are on the Souther part of the Iland, and haue beene ſacked ſundry times in Anno 1582. by *Manuel Serades*, a *Portingall*, with a Fleete of French-men; in Anno 1585. they were both burnt to the ground by the Engliſh, Sir *Francis Drake* being Generall; and in Anno 1596. *Saint Iago* was taken, and ſacked by the Engliſh, Sir *Anthony Shyrley* being Generall. Sacked by *Manuel Serades*, Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *Anthony Shyrley*.

The ſecond Iland is *Fuego*, ſo called, for that day and night there burneth in it a *Vulcan*; whoſe flames in the night are ſeene twentie Leagues off in the Sea. It is by nature fortified in that ſort, as but by one way is any acceſſe, or entrance into it, and there cannot goe vp aboue two men a breſt. The Bread which they ſpend in theſe Ilands, is brought from *Portingall* and *Spaine*, ſaving that which they make of Rice, or of Mayes, which wee call *Guynne*-wheate. *Fuego.*

The beſt watering is in the Ile of *Bravo*, on the weſt part of the Iland, where is a great River, but foule Anchoring, as is in all theſe Ilands, for the moſt part. The fruits are few, but ſubſtantiall, as Palmitos, Plantanos, Patatos, and Coco Nutts. *Bravo.*

The Palmito is like to the Date tree, and as I thinke a kinde of it, but wilde. In all parts of *Afrique* and *America* they are found, and in ſome parts of *Europe*, and in divers parts different. In *Afrique*, and in the Weſt *Indies* they are ſmall, that a man may cut *The Palmito.*

them with a knife, and the leſſer the better: But in *Braſill* they are ſo great, that with difficultie a man can fell them with an Axe, and the greater the better; one foote within the top is profitable, the reſt is of no value; and that which is to be eaten is the pith, which in ſome is better, in ſome worſe.

The *Plantane.*

The Plantane is a tree found in moſt parts of *Afrique* and *America*, of which two leaues are ſufficient to cover a man from top to toe; It beareth fruit but once, and then dryeth away, and out of his roote ſprouteth vp others new. In the top of the tree is his fruit, which groweth in a great bunch, in the forme and faſhion of puddings, in ſome more, in ſome leſſe. I haue ſeene in one bunch aboue foure hundred Plantanes, which haue weighed aboue foure-ſcore pound waight. They are of divers proportions, ſome great, ſome leſſer, ſome round, ſome ſquare, ſome triangle, moſt ordinarily of a ſpanne long, with a thicke skinne, that peeleth eaſily from the meate; which is either white or yellow, and very tender like Butter; but no Conſerue is better, nor of a more pleaſing taſte. For I never haue ſeene any man, to whom they haue bred miſ-like, or done hurt with eating much of them, as of other fruites.

The beſt are thoſe which ripen naturally on the tree, but in moſt partes they cut them off in braunches, and hange them vp in their houſes, and eate them as they ripe. For the Birds and Vermine preſently in ripning on the tree, are feeding on them. The beſt

Platemia.

that I haue ſeene are in *Braſill*, in an Iland called *Placentia*, which are ſmall, and round, and greene when they are ripe whereas the others in ripning become yellow. Thoſe of the Weſt *Indies* and *Guynne* are great, and one of them ſufficient to ſatisfie a man; the onely fault they haue is, that they are windie. In ſome places they eate them in ſtead of bread, as in *Panama*, and other parts of *Tierra firme*. They grow and proſper beſt when their rootes are ever covered with water; they are excellent in Conſerue, and good ſodden in different manners, and dried on the tree, not inferior to Suckett.

The *Cocos*, and their kindes.

The Coco nutt is a fruit of the faſhion of a Haſſell nutt, but that it is as bigge as an ordinary Bowle, and ſome are greater. It hath two ſhells, the vttermoſt framed (as it were) of a multitude of threeds, one layd vpon another, with a greene skinne over-lapping them, which is ſoft and thicke; The innermoſt is like to the ſhell of a Hazell nutt in all proportion, ſaving that it is greater and thicker, and ſome, more blacker. In the toppe of it is the forme of a Munkies face, with two eyes, his noſe and a mouth. It containeth in it both meate and drinke; the meate white as milke,

and

and like to that of the kernell of a Nutt, and as good as Almonds blancht, and of great quantitie: The water is cleare, as of the fountaine, and pleaſing in taſte, and ſomewhat anſwereth that of the water diſtilled of Milke. Some ſay it hath a ſingular propertie in Nature, for conſerving the ſmoothneſſe of the skinne; and therefore in *Spaine* and *Portingall*, the curious Dames doe ordinarily waſh their faces and neckes with it. If the holes of the ſhell be kept cloſe, they keepe foure or ſix moneths good, and more; but if it be opened, and the water kept in the ſhell, in few dayes it turneth to Vineger.

They grow vpon high Trees, which haue no boughes; onely in the top they haue a great cap of leaues, and vnder them groweth the fruite vpon certaine twigs; And ſome affirme that they beare not fruite, before they be aboue fortie yeares old, they are in all things like to the Palme trees, and grow in many partes of *Aſia*, *Afrique*, and *America*. The ſhels of theſe nuts are much eſteemed for drinking cups, and much coſt and labour is beſtowed vpon them in carving, graving and garniſhing them, with ſilver, gold and precious ſtones.

In the Kingdome of *Chile* and in *Broſill*, is another kinde of theſe, which they call Coquillos, as wee may interpret (little Cocos) and are as big as Wal-nuts; but round and ſmooth, and grow in great cluſters: the trees in formе are all one, and the meate in the nut better, but they haue no water.

Another kinde of great Cocos groweth in the *Andes* of *Peru*, which haue not the delicate meate nor drinke, which the others haue, but within are full of Almonds, which are placed as the graines in the Pomegrannet, being three times bigger then thoſe of *Europe*, and are much like them in taſt.

In theſe Ilands are Cyvet-Cats, which are alſo found in parts of *Aſia*, and *Afrique*; eſteemed for the Civet they yeelde, and carry about them in a cod in their hinder parts, which is taken from them by force. Cyvet-Catts.

In them alſo are ſtore of Monkies, and the beſt proportioned that I haue ſeene; and Parrots, but of colour different to thoſe of the weſt *Indies*; for they are of a ruſſet or gray colour and great ſpeakers. Munkeyes. Parrots.

SECT. XIIII.

With a faire and large winde we continued our course, till we came within five degrees of the Equinoctiall lyne, where the winde tooke vs contrary by the Southwest, about the twentie of Iulie, but a fayre gale of wind and a smooth Sea, so that wee might beare all a tauut: and to advantage our selues what wee might, wee stoode to the East-wards, being able to lye South-east and by South; The next day about nine of the Clocke, my companie being gathered together to serue God, which wee accustomed to doe every morning and evening, it seemed vnto me that the coulour of the Sea was different to that of the daies past, and which is ordinarily where is deepe water; and so calling the Captaine, and Master of my Ship, I told them that to my seeming the water was become very whitish, and that it made shewe of Sholde water. Wherevnto they made answere, that all the lynes in our Shippes could not fetch ground: for wee could not be lesse then threescore and tenne Leagues off the Coast, which all that kept reckoning in the Ship agreed vpon, and my selfe was of the same opinion. And so wee applyed our selues to serue God, but all the time that the service endured, my heart could not be at rest, and still me thought the water began to waxe whiter and whiter. Our prayers ended, I commanded a lead and a lyne to be brought, and having the lead in foureteene fathoms wee had ground, which put vs all into a maze, and sending men into the toppe, presently discovered the land of *Guynne*, some fiue Leagues from vs, very low Land. I commanded a Peece to be shott, and lay by the lee, till my other Shippes came vp. Which hayling vs, wee demanded of them, how farre they found themselues off the Land; who answered, some threescore and tenne, or fourescore Leagues: when wee told them wee had sounded, and found but foureteene Fathomes, and that we were in sight of Land, they began to wonder; But having consulted what was best to be done, I caused my Shalop to be manned, which I towed at the Sterne of my Ship continually, and sent her and my Pynace a head to sound, and followed them with an easie Sayle, till we came in seaven and six fathome Water, and some two Leagues from the shore anchored, in hope by the Sea, or by the Land to find some refreshing. The Sea we found to be barren of Fish, and my Boates could not discover any landing place, though

a whole day they had rowed alongſt the Coaſt, with great deſire to ſet foote on ſhore, for that the ſedge was exceeding great and dangerous. Which experienced, wee ſet ſayle, notwithſtanding the contrarietie of the winde, ſometimes ſtanding to the Weſt-wards, ſometime to the Eaſt-wards, according to the ſhifting of the wind.

SECT. XV.

HEre is to be noted, that the error which we fell into in our accompts, was ſuch as all men fall into where are currants that ſet Eaſt or Weſt, and are not knowne, for that there is no certaine rule yet practiſed for triall of the longitude, as there is of the latitude, though ſome curious and experimented of our Nation, with whom I haue had conference about this poynt, haue ſhewed me two or three manner of wayes how to know it. Note.

This, ſome yeares before was the loſſe of the *Edward Cotten*, bound for the Coaſt of *Braſill*, which taken with the winde contrary neere the lyne, ſtanding to the Eaſt-wards, and making accompt to be fiftie or ſixtie Leagues off the Coaſt, with all her Sayles ſtanding, came ſuddenly a ground vpon the ſholes of *Madre-bomba*; and ſo was caſt away, though the moſt part of their company ſaued themſelues vpon Raffes; But with the contagion of the Countrie, and bad entreatie which the *Negros* gaue them, they died; ſo that there returned not to their Country aboue three or foure of them. The loſſe of the *Edward Cotten*.

But God Almightie dealt more mercifully with vs in ſhewing vs our error in the day, and in time, that wee might remedie it; to him be euermore glory for all.

This currant from the line Equinoctiall, to twentie degrees Northerly, hath great force, and ſetteth next of any thing Eaſt, directly vpon the ſhore; which we found by this meanes: Standing to the Weſtwards, the wind Southerly, when we lay with our Ships head Weſt, and by South, we gayned in our heith more then if wee had made our way good weſt ſouth-weſt; for that, the currant rooke vs vnder the bow: but lying weſt, or weſt and by north, we loſt more in twelue houres then the other way we could get in foure and twentie. By which plainly we ſaw, that the currant did ſet Eaſt next of any thing. Whether this currant runneth euer one way, or doth alter, and how, we could by no meanes vnderſtand, but tract of

time and obſervation will diſcouer this, as it hath done of many others in ſundry Seas.

The currant that ſetteth betwixt *New-found-land* and *Spaine*, runneth alſo Eaſt and Weſt, and long time deceiued many, and made ſome to count the way longer, and others ſhorter, according as the paſſage was ſpeedie or ſlowe; not knowing that the furtherance or hinderance of the currant, was cauſe of the ſpeeding or ſlowing of the way. And in ſea Cardes I haue ſeene difference of aboue thirtie Leagues betwixt the Hand *Fereera*, and the Mayne. And others haue recounted vnto me, that comming from the *Indias*, and looking out for the Ilands of *Azores*, they haue had ſight of *Spaine*. And ſome haue looked out for *Spaine*, and haue diſcouered the Ilands.

The ſelfe ſame currant is in the *Leuant* Sea, but runneth trade betwixt the Maynes, and changeable ſometimes to the Eaſt-wards, ſometimes to the Weſt-wards.

In *Braſill* and the *South Sea*, the currant likewiſe is changeable, but it runneth euer alongſt the Coaſt, accompanying the winde: and it is an infallible rule, that twelue or twentie foure houres (before the Wind alters) the currant begins to change.

In the Weſt *Indies* onely the currant runneth continually one way, and ſetteth alongſt the Coaſt from the Equinoctiall lyne towards the North. No man hath yet found that theſe courrants keepe any certaine time, or run ſo many dayes, or moneths, one way as another, as doth the courſe of ebbing and flowing, well knowne in all Seas: onely neere the ſhore they haue ſmall force; partly, becauſe of the reflux which the coaſt cauſeth, and partly for the ebbing and flowing, which more or leſſe is generall in moſt ſeas.

When the currant runneth North or South, it is eaſily diſcouered by augmenting or diminiſhing the height, but how to know the ſetting of the currant from Eaſt to Weſt in the mayne Sea, is difficult, and as yet, I haue not knowne any man, or read any Authour, that hath preſcribed any certaine meane or way to diſcouer it. But experience teacheth that in the mayne Sea, for the moſt part it is variable; and therefore the beſt and ſafeſt rule to preuent the danger, (which the vncertainty and ignorance heereof may cauſe) is carefull and continuall watch by day and night, and vpon the Eaſt and weſt courſe euer to bee before the ſhipp, and to vſe the meanes poſſible to know the errour, by the rules which newe Authours may teach: beating off and on, ſometimes to the weſt-wards, ſometimes to the Eaſt-wards, with a fayre gale of winde.

SECT.

SECT. XVI.

BEing betwixt three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall line, my Company within a fewe dayes began to fall ſicke, of a diſeaſe which Sea-men are wont to call the Scurvey: and ſeemeth to bee a kinde of dropſie, and raigneth moſt in this Climate of any that I haue heard or read of in the World; though in all Seas it is wont to helpe and increaſe the miſerie of man; it poſſeſſeth all thoſe of which it taketh hold, with a loathſome ſloathfulneſſe, *even to eate:* they would be content to change their *ſleepe and reſt*, which is the moſt pernicious Enemie in this ſickneſſe, that is knowne. It bringeth with it a great deſire to drinke, and cauſeth a generall ſwelling of all parts of the body, eſpecially, of the legs and gums, and many times the teeth fall out of the iawes without paine. The Scurvey.

The ſignes to know this diſeaſe in the beginning are divers, by the ſwelling of the gummes, by denting of the fleſh of the leggs with a mans finger, the pit remayning without filling vp in a good ſpace: Others, ſhow it with their laſineſſe, Others, complaine of the cricke of the backe, &c. all which, are for the moſt part, certaine tokens of infection. The ſignes.

The cauſe of this ſicknes, ſome attribute to ſloath; ſome to conceite; and divers men ſpeake diverſly; that which I haue obſerved is, that our Nation is more ſubiect vnto it, then any other; becauſe being bred in a temperate Clymate, where the naturall heate reſtrayned, giveth ſtrength to the ſtomacke, ſuſtayning it with meates of good nouriſhment, and that in an wholſome ayre, whereas comming into the hot Countries, (where that naturall heate is diſperſed through the whole body, which was wont to be proper to the ſtomacke; and the meates for the moſt part, preſerved with Salt, and its ſubſtance thereby diminiſhed, and many times corrupted) greater force for digeſtion is now required, then in times paſt; but the ſtomacke finding leſſe vertue to doe his office, in reparting to each member his due proportion in perfection, which either giveth it rawe, or remayneth with it indigeſted by his hardnes or cruditie; infeebleth the body, and maketh it vnluſty and vnfit for any thing, for the ſtomacke being ſtrong, (though all parts els be weake) there is ever a deſire to feede, and aptnes to performe whatſoever can bee required of a man; but though all The cauſe.

other members be ſtrong and ſound, if the Stomacke be oppreſt, or ſquemiſh, all the body is vnluſtie, and vnfit for any thing, and yeeldeth to nothing ſo readily, as to ſloathfulnes, which is confirmed by the common anſwere to all queſtions: As, will you eate? will you ſleepe? will you walke? will you play? The anſwere is, I haue no ſtomacke: which is as much, as to ſay, no not willingly, thereby confirming that without a ſound and whole ſtomacke, nothing can bee well accompliſhed, nor any ſuſtenance well digeſted.

Seething of meat in Salt water.

The ſeething of the meate in Salt water, helpeth to cauſe this infirmitie, which in long Voyages can hardly be avoyded: but if it may be, it is to be ſhunned; for, the water of the Sea to mans body is very vnwholſome. The corruption of the victuals, and eſpecially of the bread, is very pernicious; the vapours and ayre of the Sea alſo is nothing profitable, eſpecially, in theſe hot Countries, where are many calmes. And were it not for the moving of the Sea by the force of windes, tydes, and currants, it would corrupt all the world.

Corruption of victuall.

Vapours of the Sea.

The experience I ſaw in Anno 1590. lying with a Fleete of her Maieſties ſhips about the Ilands of the *Azores* almoſt ſix moneths; the greateſt part of the time we were becalmed: with which all the Sea became ſo repleniſhed with ſeverall ſorts of gellyes, and formes of Serpents, Adders, and Snakes, as ſeemed wonderfull: ſome greene, ſome blacke, ſome yellow, ſome white, ſome of divers coulours; and many of them had life, and ſome there were a yard and halfe, and two yards long; which had I not ſeene, I could hardly haue beleeved. And hereof are witneſſes all the Companies of the Ships which were then preſent; ſo that hardly a man could draw a Buckett of water cleere of ſome corruption. In which Voyage, towards the end thereof, many of every Ship, (ſaving of the *Nonpereli*, which was vnder my charge, and had onely one man ſicke in all the Voyage) fell ſicke of this diſeaſe, and began to die apace, but that the ſpeedie paſſage into our Country was remedie to the crazed, and a Preſervatiue for thoſe that were not touched. The beſt prevention for this diſeaſe (in my iudgement) is to keepe cleane the Shippe, to beſprinkle her ordinarily with Vineger, or to burne Tarre, and ſome ſweet ſavours, to feed vpon as few ſalt Meats in the hot Country as may be, and eſpecially to ſhunne all kindes of ſalt Fiſh, and to reſerue them for the cold Climates, and not to dreſſe any meat with ſalt water, nor to ſuffer the companie to waſh their Shirts nor Cloathes in it, nor to ſleepe in their Cloaths when they are wett. For this cauſe it is neceſſarily required, that

Azores.

The remedies;

By dyet.

proviſi-

proviſion be made of apparell for the Company, that they may haue wherewith to ſhift themſelues. Being a common calamitie amongſt the ordinary ſort of Mariners, to ſpend their thrift on the ſhore, and to bring to Sea no more Cloaths then they haue backes; for the bodie of man is not refreſhed with any thing more, then with ſhifting cleane Cloaths; a great preſervatiue of health in hott Countries. By ſhift.

The ſecond Antidote is, to keepe the companie occupied in ſome bodily exerciſe of worke, of agilitie, of paſtimes, of dauncing, of vſe of Armes; theſe helpeth much to baniſh this infirmitie. By labour.

Thirdly, In the morning at diſcharge of the watch, to giue every man a bit of bread, and a draught of drinke, either Beere, or Wine mingled with water (at the leaſt, the one halfe) or a quantitie mingled with Beere, that the pores of the bodie may be full, when the vapours of the Sea aſcend vp. By early eating and drinking.

The morning draught ſhould be ever of the beſt, and choyſeſt of that in the ſhip. Pure wine I hold to be more hurtfull, then the other is profitable. In this, others will be of a contrary opinion, but I thinke partiall. If not, then leaue I the remedies thereof to thoſe Phyſitions and Surgeons who haue experience. And I wiſh that ſome learned man would write of it, for it is the plague of the Sea, and the ſpoyle of Mariners; doubtleſſe, it would be a meritorious Worke with God and man, and moſt beneficiall for our Countrie, for in twentie yeares, ſince that I haue vſed the Sea, I dare take vpon me, to giue accompt of ten thouſand men conſumed with this diſeaſe.

That which I haue ſeene moſt fruitfull for this ſickneſſe, is ſower Oranges and Lemmons, and a water which amongſt others (for my particular proviſion) I carryed to the Sea, called Doctor *Stevens* his Water, of which, for that his vertue was not then well knowne vnto me, I carryed but little, and it tooke end quickly, but gaue health to thoſe that vſed it. By ſower Oranges and Lemmons. By Doctor *Stevens* water.

The oyle of Vitry is beneficiall for this diſeaſe; taking two drops of it, and mingled in a draught of water, with a little Sugar. It taketh away the thirſt, and helpeth to clenſe and comfort the ſtomacke: By oyle of Vitry.

But the principall of all, is the ayre of the Land; for, the Sea is naturall for fiſhes, and the Land for men. And the oftner a man can haue his people to land, (not hindering his voyage) the better it is, and the profitableſt courſe that he can take to refreſh them. By the ayre of the land.

SECT. XVII.

The company ſicke, and diſmayed.

HAving ſtood to the weſtwards ſome hundreth leagues and more, the wind continuing with vs contrarie, and the ſickneſſe ſo fervent, that every day there dyed more or leſſe: my Companie in generall began to diſmay, and to deſire to returne homewards which I laboured to hinder by good reaſons, and perſwaſions: As, that to the Weſt *Indies*, we had not aboue eight hundreth leagues, to the Ilands of *Azores* little leſſe, and before we come to the Ilands of *Cape de Verde*, that we ſhould meete with the *Breze*; for every night we might ſee the reach goe contrary to the winde which wee ſayled by; verifying the old Proverbe amongſt Mariners; *That he hath need of a long Maſt, that will ſayle by the Reach*; and that the neereſt land and ſpeedieſt refreſhing wee could looke for, was the coaſt of *Braſill*; and that ſtanding towards it with the winde we had, we ſhortned our way for the *Indies*; and that to put all the ſicke men together in one Shippe, and to ſend her home, was to make her their graue. For we could ſpare but few ſound men, who were alſo ſubiect to fall ſicke, and the miſery, notwithſtanding, remedileſſe; with which they were convinced, and remained ſatisfied. So leaving all to their choyſe, with the conſideration of what I perſwaded, they reſolved with me, to continue our courſe, till that God was pleaſed to looke vpon vs, with his Fatherly eyes of mercie.

Braſill.

As we approached neerer and neerer the coaſt of *Braſill*, the wind began to vere to the Eaſt-wardes, and about the middle of October, to be large and good for vs; and about the 18. of October, we were thwart of *Cape Saint Auguſtine*, which lyeth in ſixe degrees to the Southwards of the lyne: and the 21. in the height of *Farnambuca*, but ſome foureſcore leagues from the Coaſt; the twentie foure, in the height of *Bayea de todos Santos*; neere the end of October, betwixt 17. and 18. degrees, we were in 16. fathomes, ſounding of the great Sholes, which lye alongſt the Coaſt, betwixt the Bay of *todos Santos*, and the Port of *Santos alias nra ſenora de Vitoria*; which are very perilous.

Cape S. Auguſtine.

Farnambuca.

Todos Santos.

De Vitoria.

But the divine Providence hath ordayned great flockes of ſmall Birds (like Snytes) to liue vpon the Rockes, and broken lands of theſe Sholes, and are met with ordinarily twentie leagues before a man come in danger of them.

It

It ſhall not be amiſſe here to recount the Accidents which befell vs during this contrary winde, and the curioſities to be obſerved in all this time. Day and night we had continually a fayre gale of winde, and a ſmooth Sea, without any alteration; one day, the Carpenters having Calked the Decke of our Shippe, which the Sunne with his extreame heate had opened, craved licence to heate a little Pitch in the Cook-roome: which I would not conſent vnto by any meanes; for that my Cook-roomes were vnder the Decke, knowing the danger; vntill the Maſter vndertooke, that no danger ſhould come thereof. But he recommended the charge to another, who had a better name, then experience. He ſuffered the Pitch to riſe, and to runne into the fire, which cauſed ſo furious a flame, as amazed him, and forced all to flie his heate; one of my Company, with a double payre of Gloues tooke off the Pitch-pot, but the fire forced him to let ſlip his hold-faſt, before he could ſet it on the Hearth, and ſo overturned it, and as the Pitch began to runne, ſo the fire to enlarge it ſelfe, that in a moment a great part of the Shippe was on a light fire. I being in my Cabin, preſently imagined what the matter was, and for all the haſt I could make, before I came, the fire was aboue the Decke: for remedie whereof, I commanded all my Companie, to caſt their Ruggegownes into the Sea, with Ropes faſtened vnto them. Theſe I had provided for my people to watch in; for in many hott Countries the nights are freſh and colde; and devided one Gowne to two men, a Starboord and a Larboord man; ſo that he which watched had ever the Gowne: for they which watched not, were either in their Cabins, or vnder the Decke, and ſo needed them not. The Gownes being well ſoked, every man that could, tooke one, and aſſaulted the fire; and although ſome were ſinged, others ſcalded, and many burned, God was pleaſed that the fire was quenched, which I thought impoſſible; And doubtleſſe, I never ſaw my ſelfe in greater perill in all the dayes of my life. Let all men take example by vs, not to ſuffer (in any caſe) Pitch to be heate in the Ship, except it be with a ſhott heate in the fire, which cannot breed daunger: nor to permit fire to be kindled, but vpon meere neceſſitie; for the inconvenience thereof (is for the moſt part) remedileſſe.

Dangers of Fire.

By heating of Pitch.

With drinking of *Tobacco* it is ſaid, that the *Reebucke* was burned in the range of *Dartmouth*.

By taking Tobacco.

The *Primroſe* of *London* was fired with a Candle at *Tilbery-hope*, and nothing ſaved but her Kele.

And another Ship bound for *Barbary*, at *Wapping*.

The *Iesus of Lubecke* had her Gunner-roome set on fire with a Match, and had beene burnt without redemption, if that my Father, Sir *Iohn Hawkins* Knight, then Generall in her, had not commaunded her Sloppers to be stopt, and the men to come to the Pumpes, whereof shee had two, which went with chaynes, and plying them, in a moment there was three or foure inches of water vpon the Decke, which with Scoopes, Swabbles, and Platters, they threw vpon the fire, and so quenched it, and delivered both Ship and men out of no small danger.

By Hooping and Scutling of Caske.

Great care is to be had also in cleaving of Wood, in Hooping or Scutling of Caske, and in any businesse where violence is to be vsed with instruments of Iron, Steele, or Stone; and especially, in opening of Powder, these are not to be vsed, but Mallets of Wood; for many mischances happen beyond all expectation.

I haue beene credibly enformed by divers persons, that comming out of the *Indies*, with Scutling a Butt of water, the water hath taken fire, and flamed vp, and put all in hazard: And a servant of mine, *Thomas Gray* told me, that in the Shippe wherein he came out of the *Indies*, Anno 1600. there happened the like; and that if with Mantles they had not smoothered the fire, they had bin all burned with a Pipe of Water, which in Scutling tooke fire.

By natures of waters.

Master *Iohn Haslelacke* reported, that in the Arsenall of *Venice* happened the like, he being present. For mine owne part, I am of opinion, that some waters haue this propertie, and especially such as haue their passage by Mines of Brimstone, or other Mineralls, which (as all men know) giue extraordinary properties vnto the waters by which they runne: Or it may be that the water being in wine Caske, and kept close, may retayne an extraordinary propertie of the Wine. Yea, I haue drunke Fountaine, and River waters many times, which haue had a savour as that of Brimstone.

Three leagues from *Bayon* in *France*, I haue proved of a fountaine that hath this savour, and is medicinable for many diseases. In the South Sea, in a River some fiue Leagues from *Cape Saint Francisco*, in one degree and a halfe to the Northwardes of the lyne, in the Bay of *Atacames*, is a River of fresh water, which hath the like savour. Of this I shall haue occasion to speake in another place, treating of the divers properties of Fountaines and Rivers; and therefore to our purpose.

( )

Sect. XVIII.

WEe had no ſmall cauſe to giue God thankes and prayſe for our deliverance, and ſo all our Ships once come together, wee magnified his glorious Name for his mercie towards vs, and tooke an occaſion hereby, to baniſh ſwearing out of our Shippes, which amongſt the common ſort of Mariners, and Sea-faring men, is too ordinarily abuſed. So with a generall conſent of all our companie, it was ordayned that in every Ship there ſhould be a Palmer or Ferula, which ſhould be in the keeping of him, who was taken with an oath, and that he who had the Palmer ſhould giue to every other that he tooke ſwearing in the Palme of the hand a *Palmada* with it, and the *Ferula*. And whoſoever at the time of evening, or morning Prayer, was found to haue the Palmer, ſhould haue three blowes given him by the Captaine, or Maſter, and that he ſhould be ſtill bound to free himſelfe by taking another, or elſe to runne in daunger of continuing the penaltie; which executed, few dayes reformed the Vice; ſo that in three dayes together, was not one oath heard to be ſworne. This brought both Ferula's, and ſwearing out of vſe. By Swearing.

And certainly, in vices, cuſtome is the principall ſuſtenance; and for their reformation, it little availeth to giue good counſell, or to make good Lawes and Ordenances, except they be executed.

Sect. XIX.

IN this time of contrary Wind, thoſe of my Company which were in health, recreated themſelues with Fiſhing, and beholding the Hunting and Hawking of the Sea, and the Battell betwixt the Whale and his enemies, which truely are of no ſmall pleaſure. And therefore for the curious, I will ſpend ſome time in Declaration of them.

Ordinarily ſuch Ships as Navigate betweene the *Tropiques*, are accompanied with three ſorts of Fiſh; The *Dolphin*, which the *Spaniards* call *Dorado*: The *Bonito*, or Spaniſh Makerell: and the *Sharke*, alias *Tiberune*.

The Dolphin. The *Dolphin* I hold to be one of the ſwifteſt Fiſhes in the Sea: He is like vnto a Breame, but that he is longer and thinner, and his ſcales very ſmall. He is of the coulour of the Rayn-bow, and his head different to other Fiſhes; for, from his mouth halfe a ſpanne it goeth ſtraight vpright, as the head of a Wherry, or the Cut-water of a Ship. He is very good meate if he be in ſeaſon, but the beſt part of him, is his head, which is great. They are ſome bigger, ſome leſſer; the greateſt that I haue ſeene, might be ſome foure foote long.

I hold it not without ſome ground, that the auncient Philoſophers write, that they be *enamoured* of a man: for in meeting with Shipping, they accompany them till they approach to colde Climates; this I haue noted divers times. For diſembarking out of the Weſt *Indies*, Anno 1583. within three or foure dayes after, we mett a Scole of them, which left vs not till we came to the Ilands of *Azores*, nere a thouſand Leagues. At other times I haue noted the like.

But ſome may ſay, that in the Sea are many Scoles of this kinde of Fiſh, and how can a man know if they were the ſame?

Who may be thus ſatisfied, that every day in the morning, which is the time that they approach neereſt the Ship, we ſhould ſee foure, fiue, and more, which had (as it were) our care-marke, one hurt vpon the backe; another neere the tayle; another about the fynnes, which is ſufficient prooſe that they were the ſame. For if thoſe which had received ſo bad entertainment of vs would not forſake vs, much leſſe thoſe which we had not hurt; yet that which makes them moſt in loue with Ships and Men, are the ſcrappes and refreſhing they gather from them.

The *Bonito*. The *Bonito*, or Spaniſh Makerell, is altogether like vnto a Makerell, but that it is ſomewhat more growne; he is reaſonable foode, but dryer then a Makerell. Of them there are two ſorts; the one is this which I haue deſcribed; the other, ſo great, as hardly one man can liſt him; At ſuch times as wee haue taken of theſe, one ſufficed for a meale for all my company. Theſe, from the fynne of the tayle forwards haue vpon the chyne ſeven ſmall yellow hillockes, cloſe one to another.

The *Dolphins* and *Bonito's* are taken with certaine inſtruments of Iron, which we call *Vyſgeis*, in forme of an Eele-ſpeare, but that the blades are round, and the poynts like vnto the head of a broad Arrow; theſe are faſtned to long Staues of ten or twelue foote long, with lynes tyed vnto them, and ſo ſhott to the Fiſh, from the Beake-head, the Poope, or other parts of the Shippe, as occaſion is miniſtred.

ſtred. They are alſo caught with Hookes and Lynes, the Hooke being bayted with a redd Cloth, or with a white Cloth, made into the forme of a Fiſh, and ſowed vpon the Hooke.

The *Sharke* or *Tiberune*, is a Fiſh like vnto thoſe which wee call Dogge-fiſhes, but that he is farre greater. I haue ſeene of them eight or nine foote long; his head is flatt and broad, and his mouth in the middle, vnderneath, as that of the Scate; and he cannot byte of the bayte before him, but by making a halfe turne; and then he helpeth himſelfe with his tayle, which ſerveth him in ſtead of a Rudder. His skinne is rough (like to the Fiſh which we call, a rough Hound) and ruſſet, with reddiſh ſpottes, ſaving that vnder the belly he is all white: he is much hated of Sea-faring men, who haue a certaine fooliſh ſuperſtition with them, and ſay, that the Ship hath ſeldome good ſucceſſe, that is much accompanied with them. The Sharke.

It is the moſt ravenous Fiſh knowne in the Sea; for he ſwalloweth all that he findeth. In the Puch of them hath beene found hatts, cappes, ſhooes, ſhirts, leggs and armes of men, ends of Ropes, and many other things; whatſoever is hanged by the Shippes ſide, hee ſheereth it, as though it were with a Razor; for he hath three rowes of teeth on either ſide, as ſharpe as Nailes; ſome ſay, they are good for Pick-tooths. It hath chanced that a yonker caſting himſelfe into the Sea to ſwimme, hath had his legge bitten off aboue the knee by one of them. And I haue beene enformed, that in the *Tyger*, when Sir *Richard Greenfild* went to people *Virginia*, a *Sharke* cut off the legge of one of the companie, ſitting in the Chaines, and waſhing himſelfe. They ſpawne not, as the greateſt part of Fiſhes doe, but Whelpe, as the Dogge or Wolfe; and for many dayes after that ſhee hath whelped, every night, and towards any ſtorme, or any danger which may threaten them hurt, the Damme receiveth her Whelpes in at her mouth, and preſerveth them, till they be able to ſhift for themſelues. I haue ſeene them goe in and out, being more then a foote and halfe long; and after, taking the Damme, we haue found her young ones in her belly.

Every day my Company tooke more or leſſe of them, not for that they did eate of them (for they are not held wholeſome; although the Spaniards, as I haue ſeene, doe eate them) but to recreate themſelues, and in revenge of the iniuries received by them; for they liue long, and ſuffer much after they bee taken, before they dye.

At the tayle of one, they tyed a great logge of wood, at another, an emptie *Botizia* well ſtopped; one they yoaked like a Hogge; from another, they plucked out his eyes, and ſo threw them in-

to the Sea. In catching two together, they bound them tayle to tayle, and so set them a swimming; another, with his belly slit, and his bowels hanging out, which his fellowes would haue every one a snatch at; with other infinite inventions to entertayne the time, and to auenge themselues; for that they deprived them of swimming, and fed on their flesh being dead: they are taken with harping Irons, and with great hookes made of purpose, with Swyvels and Chaines; for no lyne, nor small rope can hold them, which they share not asunder.

There doth accompany this fish, divers little fishes, which are callet Pilats fishes, and are ever vpon his fynnes, his head, or his backe, and feede of the scraps and superfluities of his prayes. They are in forme of a Trought, and streked like a Makerell, but that the strekes are white and blacke, and the blacke greater then the white.

The manner of Hunting and Hawking representeth that which wee reasonable creatures vse, saving onely in the disposing of the game. For by our industry and abilitie the Hound and Hawke is brought to that obedience, that whatsoever they seize, is for their Master; but here it is otherwise. For the game is for him that seizeth it. The *Dolphins* and *Bonitoes* are the hounds, and the *Alcatraces* the hawkes, and the flying fishes the game: whose wonderfull making magnifieth the Creator, who for their safetie, and helpe, hath given them extraordinary manner of fynnes, which serue in stead of wings, like those of the Batt or Rere-mouse; of such a delicate skinne, interlaced with small bones so curiously, as may well cause admiration in the beholders. They are like vnto *Pilchards* in colour, and making; saving that they are somewhat rounder, and (for the most part) bigger. They flie best with a side wind, but longer then their wings be wett, they cannot sustaine the waight of their bodies; and so the greatest flight that I haue seene them make, hath not beene aboue a quarter of a myle. They commonly goe in Scoles, and serue for food for the greater Fishes, or for the Foules. The *Dolphins* and *Bonitoes* doe continually hunt after them, and the *Alcatraces* lye soaring in the ayre, to see when they spring, or take their flight; and ordinarily, he that escapeth the mouth of the *Dolphin*, or *Bonito*, helping himselfe by his wings, falleth prisoner into the hands of the *Alcatrace*, and helpeth to fill his gorge.

Flying Fishes.

Alcatrace. The *Alcatrace* is a Sea-fowle, different to all that I haue seene, either on the land, or in the Sea. His head like vnto the head of a Gull, but his bill like vnto a Snytes bill, somewhat shorter, and in all places alike. He is almost like to a Heronshaw, his leggs a good

ſpanne long, his wings very long, and ſharpe towards the poynts, with a long tayle like to a Pheaſant, but with three or foure feathers onely, and theſe narrower. He is all blacke, of the colour of a Crow, and of little fleſh; for he is almoſt all skinne and bones. He ſoareth the higheſt of any fowle that I haue ſeene, and I haue not heard of any, that haue ſeene them reſt in the Sea.

Now of the fight betwixt the Whale and his contraries; which are the Sword fiſh and the Threſher. The Whale is of the greateſt fiſhes in the Sea; and to count but the truth, vnleſſe dayly experience did witneſſe the relation, it might ſeeme incredible, hee is a huge vnwildlie fiſh, and to thoſe which haue not ſeene of them, it might ſeeme ſtrange, that other fiſhes ſhould maſter him; but certaine it is, that many times the Threſher, and Sword fiſh, meeting him ioyntly, doe make an end of him. The fight of the Whale,

The Sword fiſh is not great, but ſtrongly made, and in the top of his chine (as a man may ſay) betwixt the necke and ſhoulders, he hath a maner of Sword in ſubſtance, like vnto a bone of foure or fiue ynches broad, and aboue three foote long, full of prickles of either ſide, it is but thin, for the greateſt that I haue ſeene, hath not beene aboue a finger thicke. with the Sword-fiſh,

The Threſher is a greater fiſh, whoſe tayle is very broad & thick, and very waightie. They fight in this maner; the Sword fiſh placeth himſelfe vnder the belly of the Whale, and the Threſher vpon the Ryme of the water, and with his tayle threſheth vpon the head of the Whale, till hee force him to giue way, which the Sword fiſh perceiving, receiveth him vpon his ſword, and wounding him in the belly forceth him to mount vp againe: (beſides that, he cannot abide long vnder water, but muſt of force riſe vpp to breath) and when in ſuch maner they torment him, that the fight is ſometimes heard aboue three leagues diſtance, and I dare affirme, that I haue heard the blowes of the Threſher two leagues off, as the report of a peece of Ordinance, the Whales roaring being heard much farther. It alſo happeneth ſundry times, that a great part of the water of the Sea round about them, with the blood of the Whale changeth his colour. The beſt remedy the Whale hath in this extremitie to helpe himſelfe, is to get him to land, which hee procureth as ſoone as hee diſcoverth his aduerſaries, and getting the ſhore, there can fight but one with him, and for either of them hand to hand, he is too good. The Whale is a fiſh not good to be eaten, hee is almoſt all fat, but eſteemed for his trayne: and many goe to the *New-found-land*, *Greene-land*, and other parts onely to fiſh for them, which is in this maner; when they which ſeeke the Whale and Threſher.

The taking of the Whale.

discover him, they compasse him round about with Pynaces or Shalops. In the head of every Boat is placed a man, with a harping Iron, and a long Lyne, the one end of it fastned to the harping iron, and the other end to the head of the Boat; In which it lyeth finely coyled; and for that he cannot keepe long vnder water, he sheweth which way he goeth, when rising neere any of the Boats, within reach, he that is neerest, darteth his harping Iron at him. The Whale finding himselfe to be wounded, swimmeth to the bottome, and draweth the Pynace after him; which the Fisher-men presently forsake, casting themselues into the Sea; for that many times he draweth the Boat vnder water: those that are next, procure to take them vp. For this cause all such as goe for that kinde of Fishing, are experimented in swimming. When one harping Iron is fastned in the Whale, it is easily discerned which way he directeth his course; and so ere long they fasten another, and another in him. When he hath three or foure Boats dragging after him; with their waight, his bleeding, and fury, he becommeth so over-mastred, that the rest of the Pynaces with their presence and terror, drive him to the place where they would haue him, nature instigating him to covet the shore.

Being once hurt, there is little need to force him to land. Once on the shore, they presently cut great peeces of him, and in great Cauldrons seeth them. The vppermost in the Cauldrons is the fatt, which they skimme off, and put it into Hogsheads and Pipes. This is that they call Whales oyle, or Traine oyle, accompted the best sort of Traine oyle. It is hard to be beleeved, what quantitie is gathered of one Whale; Of the tongue, I haue beene enformed, haue many Pipes beene filled. The fynnes are also esteemed for many and sundry vses; as is his spawne for divers purposes: This wee corruptly call *Parmacittie*; of the Latine word, *Sperma Ceti*.

Amber-greece.

And the precious *Amber-greece* (some thinke also) to be found in his bowells, or voyded by him; but not in all seas; yea, they maintaine for certaine, that the same is ingendred by eating an hearbe which groweth in the Sea. This hearbe is not in all Seas, say they, and therefore, where it wanteth, the Whales give not this fruit. In the coast of the *East Indies* in many partes is great quantitie. In the coastes of *Guyne*, of *Barbary*, of the *Florida*, in the Ilands of *Cape de Verde*, and the *Canaries*, *Amber-greece* hath beene many times found, and sometimes on the coast of *Spaine* and *England*. Whereupon it is presumed, that all those Seas haue not the hearbe growing in them. The cause why the Whale should eate this

 hearbe,

hearbe, I haue not heard, nor read. It may be ſurmiſed, that it is as that of the Becunia, and other Beaſts, which breed the Beazer ſtone; who feeding in the valleyes and mountaines, where are many venemous Serpents, and hearbes; when they find themſelues touched with any poyſon, forthwith they runne for remedie to an hearbe, which the *Spaniards* call, *Contrayerua*, that is to ſay, contrary to poyſon; which having eaten, they are preſently cured: but the ſubſtance of the hearbe converteth it ſelfe into a medicinable ſtone; So it may be, that the Whale feeding of many ſorts of fiſhes, and ſome of them (as is knowne) venemous, when he findeth himſelfe touched, with this hearbe he cureth himſelfe; and not being able to digeſt it, nature converteth it into this ſubſtance, provoketh it out, or dyeth with it in his belly; and being light, the Sea bringeth it to the Coaſt. The Beazar ſtone.

All theſe are imaginations, yet inſtruments to mooue vs to the glorifying of the great and vniverſall Creatour of all, whoſe ſecret wiſedome, and wonderfull workes, are incomprehenſible.

But the more approved generation of the *Amber greece*, and which carrieth likliest probabilitie is, that it is a liquor which iſſueth out of certaine Fountaines, in ſundry Seas, and being of a light and thicke ſubſtance, participating of the ayre, ſuddenly becommeth hard, as the yellow *Amber*, of which they make Beads; which is alſo a liquor of a Fountaine in the Germayne Sea: In the bottome it is ſoft and white, and partaking of the ayre becommeth hard and ſtonie: Alſo the Corrall in the Sea is ſoft, but comming into the ayre, becommeth a ſtone. Amber greece.

Thoſe who are of this former opinion, thinke the reaſon (why the *Amber greece* is ſometimes found in the Whale) to be for that he ſwalloweth it, as other things, which he findeth ſwimming vpon the water; and not able to digeſt it, it remaineth with him till his death.

Another manner of fiſhing, and catching the Whale I cannot omit, vſed by the *Indians* in *Florida*; worthy to be conſidered, in as much as the barbarous people haue found out ſo great a ſecret, by the induſtry and diligence of one man, to kill ſo great and huge a Monſter; it is in this manner. By the *Indians*.

The *Indian* diſcovering a Whale, procureth two round billets of wood, ſharpneth both at one end, and ſo binding them together with a cord, caſteth himſelfe with them into the Sea, and ſwimmeth towards the Whale; if he come to him, the Whale eſcapeth not; for he placeth himſelfe vpon his necke, and although the Whale goeth to the bottome, he muſt of force riſe preſently to breath, (for

which nature hath given him two great holes in the toppe of his head, by which every time that he breatheth, he ſpouteth out a great quantitie of water) the *Indian* forſaketh not his holde, but riſeth with him, and thruſteth in a Logg into one of his Spowters, and with the other knocketh it in ſo faſt, that by no meanes the Whale can get it out: That faſtned, at another opportunitie, he thruſteth in the ſecond Logg into the other Spowter, and with all the force he can, keepeth it in.

The Whale not being able to breath, ſwimmeth preſently aſhore, and the *Indian* a cock-horſe vpon him, which his fellowes diſcovering, approach to helpe him, and to make an end of him: it ſerveth them for their foode many dayes after.

Since the *Spaniards* haue taught them the eſtimation of Amber greece, they ſeeke curiouſly for it, ſell it to them, and others, for ſuch things as they beſt fancie, and moſt eſteeme; which are (as I haue beene enformed) all ſortes of edge-tooles, Copper, Glaſſes, Glaſſe-beads, red Caps, Shirts, and Pedlery ware. Vpon this ſubiect, divers *Spaniards* haue diſcourſed vnto mee, who haue beene eye witneſſes thereof, declaring them to be valorous, ventrous, and induſtrious: otherwiſe they durſt not vndertake an enterpriſe ſo difficult and full of danger.

SECT. XX.

FRom the Tropike of *Canter* to three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall, the breze which is the North-eaſt winde, doth raigne in our Ocean ſea the moſt part of the yeare, except it be neere the ſhore, and then the winde is variable. In three or foure degrees of eyther ſide the line, the winde hangeth Southerly, in the moneths of Iuly, Auguſt, September and October: all the reſt of the yeare from the *Cape bona eſperança* to the Ilands of *Azores*, the breze raygneth continually; and ſome yeares in the other moneths alſo, or calmes, but he that purpoſeth to croſſe the lyne from the North-wards to the South-wards, the beſt and ſureſt paſſage is, in the moneths of Ianuary, February, and March. In the moneths of September, October and November is alſo good paſſage, but not ſo ſure as in the former.

Beſt times to paſſe the lyne, from the North-wards to the South-ward.

SECT.

SECT. XXI.

BEtwixt nineteene and twenty degrees to the Southwards of the lyne, the winde tooke vs contrary, which together with the ſicknes of my people made mee to ſeeke the ſhore, and about the end of October, we had ſight of the Land, which preſently by our height and the making of it, diſcovered it ſelfe to be the port of *Santos, alias noſtra Senora de Victoria*, and is eaſie to be knowne, for it hath a great high hill over the Port, which (howſoever a man commeth with the land) riſeth like a bell, and comming neere the ſhore preſently is diſcovered a white Tower or Fort, which ſtandeth vpon the top of a hill over the Harbour, and vpon the ſeamoſt land: It is the firſt land a man muſt compaſſe, before he enter the Port; comming within two Leagues of the ſhore we anchored, and the Captaynes and Maſters of my other ſhips, being come aboord, it was thought convenient (the weakenes of our men conſidered, for wee had not in our three ſhips twenty foure men ſound) and the winde vncertaine when it might change, we thought with pollicie to procure that, which wee could not by force; and ſo to offer traffique to the people of the ſhore, by that meanes to proue, if wee could attayne ſome refreſhing for our ſicke Company.

In execution whereof, I wrote a letter to the Governour in Latine, and ſent him with it a peece of crymſon Velvet, a bolt of fine Holland, with divers other things, as a preſent; and with it, the Captaine of my ſhip, who ſpake a little broken Spaniſh, giving the Governour to vnderſtand, that I was bound to the Eaſt *Indies*, to traffique in thoſe parts, and that contrary windes had forced me vpon that Coaſt: If that hee were pleaſed to like of it, for the commodities the Countrie yeelded in abundance, I would exchange that, which they wanted. With theſe inſtructions my Captaine departed about nine of the clocke in the morning, carrying a flagge of truce in the head of the boate, and ſixteene men well armed, and provided; guided by one of my Company which two yeares before had beene Captaine in that place, and ſo was a reaſonable Pilot.

Entring the Port, within a quarter of a myle is a ſmall Village, and three Leagues higher vp, is the chiefe Towne; where they have two Forts, one on eyther ſide of the Harbour, and within them ride the Ships which come thither to diſcharge, or loade. In the ſmall Village is ever a Garriſon of a hundreth Souldiers, whereof

part assist there continually, and in the white Tower vpon the top of the hill, which commaundeth it.

Heere my Captaine had good entertainement, and those of the shore received his message and Letter, dispatching it presently to the Governour, who was some three Leagues off in another place: at least, they beare vs so in hand. In the time that they expected the Post, my Captaine with one other entertained himselfe with the Souldiers a shore, who after the common custome of their profession (except when they be *besonios*) sought to pleasure him, and finding that he craved but Oranges, Lemmons, and matters of smal moment for refreshing for his Generall, they suffered the women and Children to bring him what hee would, which hee gratified with double Pistolets, that I had given him for that purpose. So got hee vs two or three hundreth Oranges and Lemmons, and some fewe Hennes.

All that day and night, and the next day, till nine of the clocke, wee waited the returne of our boate; which not appearing, bred in me some suspition; and for my satisfaction I man'd a light horseman which I had, and the *Fancie*, the best I could; shewing strength, where was weakenesse and infirmity, and so set sayle towardes the Port; our Gunner taking vpon him to bee Pilote, for that hee had beene there some yeares before.

Thus, with them we entred the Harbour, my Captaine having notice of our being within the Barre, came aboord with the Boat, which was no small ioy to me; and more, to see him bring vs store of Oranges and Lemmons, which was that we principally sought for, as the remedie of our diseased Company. He made relation of that had past, and how they expected present answere from the governour. We anchored right against the village, and within two houres, by a Flagge of Truce, which they on the shore shewed vs, wee vnderstood that the Messenger was come: our Boat went for the answere of the governour, who said, he was sorry that he could not accomplish our desire, being so reasonable and good; for that in consideration of the warre betwixt *Spaine* and *England*, he had expresse order from his King, not to suffer any *English* to trade within his iurisdiction, no, nor to land, or to take any refreshing vpon the shore. And therefore craved pardon, and that wee should take this for a resolute answere: And further, required vs to depart the Port within three dayes, which he said he gaue vs, for our courteous manner of proceeding; If any of my people from that time forwards, should approach to the shore, that he would doe his best to hinder and annoy them. With this answere wee resolved to de-

part;

part; and before it came, with the firſt faire wind, we determined to be packing: but the wind ſuffered vs not all that night, nor the next day. In which time, I lived in a great perplexitie, for that I knew our owne weakneſſe, and what they might doe vnto vs, if that they had knowne ſo much. For any man that putteth himſelfe into the enemies Port, had need of *Argus* eyes, and the wind in a bagge, eſpecially, where the enemie is ſtrong, and the tydes of any force. For, with either ebbe or flood, thoſe who are on the ſhore, may thruſt vpon him inventions of fire; and with ſwimming, or other deviles may cut his Cables. A common practiſe in all hott Countries. The like may be effected with Raffes, Cannoas, Boates or Pynaces, to annoy and aſſault him; and if this had beene practiſed againſt vs, or taken effect, our Shippes muſt of force haue yeelded themſelues; for they had no other people in them but ſicke men; but many times opinion and feare preſerveth the Shippes, and not the people in them.

Wherefore it is the part of a provident Governour, to conſider well the daungers that may befall him, before he put himſelfe into ſuch places; So ſhall he ever be provided for prevention. For prevention of annoyances, &c. in Harbours.

In Saint *Iohn de Vlua*, in the *New-Spaine*, when the *Spanyards* diſhonoured their Nation with that foule act of periury, and breach of faith, given to my Father, Sir *Iohn Hawkins* (notorious to the whole world) the *Spanyards* fired two great Shippes, with intention to burne my Fathers Admirall, which he prevented by towing them with his Boates another way.

The great *Armado* of *Spaine*, ſent to conquer *England*, Anno 1588. was with that ſelfe ſame induſtry overthrowne; for the ſetting on fire of ſix or ſeaven ſhippes (whereof two were mine) and letting them drive with the flood, forced them to cut their Cables, and to put to Sea, to ſeeke a new way to *Spaine*. In which the greateſt part of their beſt Shippes and men were loſt and periſhed.

For that my people ſhould not be diſmayed, I diſpatched preſently my Light-horſman, with onely foure men, and part of the refreſhing, adviſing them that with the firſt calme, or ſlent of wind, they ſhould come off.

The next night, the wind comming off the ſhore wee ſet ſayle, and with our Boates and Barkes ſounded as we went.

It flowed vpon the Barre not aboue foure foote water, and once in foure and twentie houres (as in ſome parts of the Weſt *Indies*) at full Sea there is not vpon the barre aboue 17. or 18. foote water. The harbour runneth to the South-weſtwards. He that will come into it, is to open the harbours mouth a good quarter of a league before

before he beare with it, and be bolder of the weſter ſide; for of the Eaſterland lyeth a great ledge of Rockes, for the moſt part, vnder water, which ſometimes breake not, but with ſmall ſhipping, a man may goe betwixt them and the poynt.

The vertue of Oranges.

Comming aboord of our Shippes, there was great ioy amongſt my Company, and many with the ſight of the Oranges and Lemmons, ſeemed to recover heart; This is a wonderfull ſecret of the power and wiſedome of God, that hath hidden ſo great and vnknowne vertue in this fruit, to be a certaine remedie for this infirmitie; I preſently cauſed them all to be reparted amongſt our ſicke men, which were ſo many, that there came not aboue three or foure to a ſhare; but God was pleaſed to ſend vs a proſperous winde the next day, ſo much to our comfort, that not any one dyed before we came to the Ilands, where we pretended to refreſh our ſelues; And although our freſh water had fayled vs many dayes, (before we ſaw the ſhore) by reaſon of our long Navigation, without touching any land, and the exceſſiue drinking of the ſicke and diſeaſed, (which could not be excuſed) yet with an invention I had in my Shippe, I eaſily drew out of the water of the Sea, ſufficient quantitie of freſh water to ſuſtaine my people, with little expence of fewell; for with foure Billets I ſtilled a Hogſhead of water, and therewith dreſſed the meat for the ſicke and whole. The water ſo diſtilled, we found to be wholeſome and nouriſhing.

Diſtilling of Salt water.

SECT. XXII.

THe Coaſt from *Santos*, to *Cape Frio* lyeth weſt and by South Southerly. So we directed our courſe Weſt South-weſt. The night comming on, and directions given to our other Shippes, we ſett the watch, having a fayre freſh gale of wind and large. My ſelfe, with the Maſter of our Ship, having watched the night paſt, thought now to giue Nature that which ſhee had beene deprived of, and ſo recommended the care of Steeridge to one of his Mates; who with the like travell paſt being drowſie, or with the confidence which he had of him at the Helme, had not that watchfull care which was required; he at the Helme ſteered Weſt, and Weſt and by South, and brought vs in a little time cloſe vpon the ſhore; doubtleſſe, he had caſt vs all away, had not God extraordinarily delivered vs; for the Maſter being in his dead

Vnskilfulneſſe of the Maſters Mate.

ſleepe,

ſleepe, was ſuddenly awaked, and with ſuch a fright, that he could not be in quiet: wherevpon, waking his youth, which ordinarily ſlept in his Cabin by him, asked him how the watch went on; who anſwered, that it could not be aboue an houre ſince he layd himſelfe to reſt. He replyed, that his heart was ſo vnquiet, that he could not by any meanes ſleepe, and ſo taking his Gowne, came forth vpon the Decke, and preſently diſcovered the Land hard by vs. And for that it was ſandie and low, thoſe who had their eyes continually fixed on it, were dazeled with the reflection of the Starres, being a fayre night, and ſo were hindered from the true diſcovery thereof. But he comming out of the darke, had his ſight more forcible, to diſcerne the difference of the Sea, and the ſhore. So that forthwith he commaunded him at the Helme, to put it cloſe a ſtarbourd, and tacking our Ship, wee edged off; and ſounding, found ſcant three fathome water, whereby we ſaw evidently, the miraculous mercie of our God; that if he had not watched over vs, as hee doth continually over his, doubtleſſe, we had periſhed without remedie; To whom be all glory, and prayſe everlaſtingly, world without end.

Providence of God, and the care of the Maſter.

Immediatly we ſhot off a Peece, to giue warning to our other Shippes; who having kept their direct courſe, and far to windwards and Sea-wards, becauſe we carried no light, for that we were within ſight of the ſhore, could not heare the report; and the next morning were out of ſight.

SECT. XXIII.

IN this poynt of Steeridge, the *Spaniards* and *Portingalls* doe exceede all that I haue ſeene, I meane for their care, which is chiefeſt in Navigation. And I wiſh in this, and in all their workes of Diſcipline and reformation, we ſhould follow their examples; as alſo thoſe of any other Nation.

Care of Steeridge.

In every Ship of moment, vpon the halfe decke, or quarter decke, they haue a chayre, or ſeat; out of which whilſt they Navigate, the Pilot, or his *Adiutants* (which are the ſame officers which in our Shippes we terme, the Maſter and his Mates) never depart, day nor night, from the ſight of the Compaſſe; and haue another before them; whereby they ſee what they doe, and are ever witneſſes of the good or bad Steeridge of all men that take the Helme.

Exquiſit in the *Spanyards* and *Portingalls*.

This I haue seene neglected in our best Shippes, yet nothing more necessary to be reformed. For a good Helme-man may be ouercome with an imagination, and so mis-take one poynt for another; or the Compasse may erre, which by another is discerned. The inconveniences which hereof may ensue, all experimented Sea-men may easily conceiue; and by vs take warning to avoyd the like.

SECT. XXIIII.

Cape Blanco.

THe next day about tenne of the Clocke, wee were thwart of *Cape Blanco*, which is low sandie Land, and perilous; for foure Leagues into the Sea (thwart it) lye banks of sand, which haue little water on them; on a sudden we found our selues amongst them, in lesse then three fathome water; but with our Boat and Shalope we went sounding, and so got cleare of them.

Saint *Iames* Ilands, *alias* Saint *Annes.*

The next day following, we discovered the Ilands, where wee purposed to refresh our selues: They are two, and some call them Saint *Iames* his Ilands, and others, Saint *Annes*. They lie in two and twentie degrees and a halfe to the South-wards of the lyne; and towards the evening (being the fifth of *November*) we anchored betwixt them and the Mayne, in six fathome water, where wee found our other Shippes.

All which being well Moored, we presently began to set vp Tents and Booths for our sicke men, to carry them a shore, and to vse our best diligence to cure them. For which intent our three Surgeans, with their servants and adherents, had two Boates to wayte continually vpon them, to fetch whatsoever was needfull from the Shippes, to procure refreshing, and to Fish, either with Netts, or Hookes, and Lynes. Of these implements wee had in aboundance, and it yeelded vs some refreshing. For the first dayes, the most of those which had health, occupied themselues in romeging our Ship, in bringing a shore of emptie Caske, in filling of them, and in felling and cutting of Wood: which being many workes, and few hands, went slowly forwards.

Gannett.

Neere these Ilands, are two great Rockes, or small Ilands adioyning. In them we found great store of young *Gannetts* in their nests, which we reserved for the sicke, and being boyled with pickled Porke well watered, and mingled with Oatmeale, made reasona-

ble Pottage, and was good refreſhing and ſuſtenance for them. This proviſion fayled vs not, till our departure from them.

Vpon one of theſe Rocks alſo, we found great ſtore of the hearbe Purſlane, which boyled and made into Sallets, with oyle and vineger, refreſhed the ſicke ſtomackes, and gaue appetite. Purſlane.

With the ayre of the ſhore, and good cheriſhing, many recovered ſpeedily: Some died away quickly, and others continued at a ſtand. We found here ſome ſtore of fruits; a kind of Cherry, that groweth vpon a tree like a Plum-tree, red of colour, with a ſtone in it, but different in making to ours, for it is not altogether round, and dented about: they haue a pleaſing taſte. Cherries.

In one of the Ilands, we found *Palmito* trees, great and high, and in the toppe a certaine fruit like Cocos, but no bigger then a Wallnut. We found alſo a fruit growing vpon trees in codds, like Beanes, both in the codd, and the fruit. Some of my Company proved of them, and they cauſed vomits and purging, as any medicine taken out of the Apothecaries ſhop, according to the quantitie received. They haue huddes, as our Beanes, which ſhaled off, the kernell parteth it ſelfe in two, and in the middle is a thin skinne (like that of an Onion) ſaid to be hurtfull, and to cauſe exceeding vomits, and therefore to be caſt away. Palmitos. Purgatiues.

Monardus writing of the nature and propertie of this fruit, as of others of the *Indies*, for that it is found in other parts, alſo calleth them *Havas purgativas*, and ſayth, that they are to be prepared, by peeling them firſt, and then taking away the skinne in the middle, and after beaten into powder, to take the quantitie of fiue or ſixe, either with Wine or Sugar. Thus they are good againſt Fevers, and to purge groſſe humors; againſt the Collicke, and payne of the ioynts; in taking them a man may not ſleepe, but is to vſe the dyet vſuall, as in a day of purging. The vſe of *Havas purgativas*.

One other fruit we found, very pleaſant in taſte, in faſhion of an Artechoque, but leſſe; on the outſide, of colour redd; within white, and compaſſed about with prickles; our people called them Prick-peares; no Conſerue is better. They grow vpon the leaues of a certaine roote, that is like vnto that which we call *ſemper viva*; and many are wont to hang them vp in their houſes: but their leaues are longer and narrower, and full of Prickes on either ſide. The fruit groweth vpon the ſide of the leafe, and is one of the beſt fruites that I haue eaten in the *Indies*. In ripening, preſently the Birds or Vermine are feeding on them; a generall rule to know, what fruit is wholſome and good in the *Indies*, and other parts. Finding them to be eaten of the Beaſts or Fowles, a man may boldly eate of them. Artechoques, or Prick-Peares. A good note to take, or refuſe vnknowne fruits.

The water of these Ilands is not good; the one, for being a standing water, and full of venemous Wormes and Serpents, which is neare a Butt-shot from the Sea shore, where we found a great Tree fallen, and in the roote of it the names of sundry *Portingalls, Frenchmen*, and others, and amongst them, *Abraham Cockes*; with the time of their being in this Island.

Contagious water.

The other, though a running water, yet passing by the rootes of certaine trees, which haue a smell as that of Garlique, taketh a certaine contagious sent of them; Here two of our men dyed with swelling of their bellies: The accident we could not attribute to any other cause, then to this suspitious water. It is little, and falleth into the sand, and soketh through it into the Sea; and therefore we made a well of a Pipe, and placed it vnder the rocke from which it falleth, and out of it filled our Caske: but we could not fill aboue two Tunnes in a night and a day.

SECT. XXV.

SO after our people began to gather their strength, wee manned our Boates, and went over to the Mayne, where presently we found a great Ryver of fresh and sweete water, and a mightie Marish Countrie; which in the Winter seemeth to be continually over-flowne with this River, and others, which fall from the mountaynous Country adiacent.

We rowed some leagues vp the Ryver, and found that the further vp we went, the deeper was the River, but no fruit, more then the sweate of our bodies for the labour of our handes.

At our returne wee loaded our Boate with Water, and afterwardes from hence wee made our Store.

SECT. XXVI.

THe ſickneſſe having waſted more then the one halfe of my people, we determined to take out the victualls of the *Hawke*, and to burne her; which wee put in execution. And being occupied in this Worke, we ſaw a Shippe turning to Windwards, to ſuccour her ſelfe of the Ilands; but having diſcryed vs, put off to Sea-wards. Waſt and loſſe of men.

Two dayes after, the wind changing, we ſaw her againe running alongſt the coaſt, and the *Daintie* not being in caſe to goe after her, for many reaſons, we manned the *Fancie*, and ſent her after her; who about the ſetting of the Sunne fetched her vp, and ſpake with her; when finding her to be a great Fly-boat, of (at leaſt) three or foure hundreth Tunnes, with 18. Peeces of Artillery, would haue returned, but the wind freſhing in, put her to Leewards; and ſtanding in to ſuccour her ſelfe of the land, had ſight of another ſmall Barke, which after a ſhort chaſe ſhee tooke, but had nothing of moment in her, for that ſhe had bin vpon the great Sholes of *Abrolhos* in 18. degrees, and there throwne all they had by the board, to ſaue their liues.

This and the other chaſe were the cauſe that the *Fancie* could not beat it vp in many dayes: but before we had put all in a readineſſe, the wind changing, ſhee came vnto vs, and made Relation of that which had paſt; and how they had given the ſmall Barke to the *Portingalls*, and brought with them onely her Pilot, and a Marchant called *Pedro de eſcalante* of *Potoſi*.

SECT. XXVII.

IN this Coaſt the *Portingalls* by induſtrie of the *Indians*, haue wrought many feats. At *Cape Frio* they tooke a great French Ship in the night, the moſt of her company being on the ſhore, with Cannoas, which they haue in this Coaſt ſo great, that they carry ſeventie and eightie men in one of them. And in *Iſla grand*, I ſaw one that was aboue threeſcore foote long, of one tree, as are all that I haue ſeene in *Braſill*, with proviſions in Induſtry of the *Indians*; They ſurpriſe the French,

San-ſebaſtian. them for twentie or thirtie dayes. At the Iland of *San-ſebaſtian*, neere Saint *Vincent*, the *Indians* killed about eightie of maſter *Candiſh* his men, and tooke his Boat, which was the overthrow of his Voyage.

kill the Engliſh,

There commeth not any Ship vpon this Coaſt, whereof theſe Cannoas giue not notice preſently to every place. And wee were certified in *Iſla grand*, that they had ſent an *Indian* from the River of *Ienero*, through all the Mountaines and Mariſhes, to take a view of vs, and accordingly made a Relation of our Shippes, Boates, and the number of men, which we might haue. But to prevent the like danger that might come vpon vs being careleſſe and negligent, I determined one night, in the darkeſt and quieteſt of it, to ſee what watch our Company kept on the ſhore; man'd our Light-horſman, and Boat, armed them with Bowes and Targetts, and got a ſhore ſome good diſtance from the places where were our Boothes, and ſought to come vpon them vndiſcovered: wee vſed all our beſt endevours to take them at vnawares, yet comming within fortie paces we were diſcovered; the whole and the ſicke came forth to oppoſe themſelues againſt vs. Which wee ſeeing, gaue them the Hubbub, after the manner of the *Indians*, and aſſaulted them, and they vs; but being a cloſe darke night, they could not diſcerne vs preſently vpon the Hubbub.

and diſcover vs.

From our Shippe the Gunner ſhott a peece of Ordinance over our heads, according to the order given him, and thereof we tooke occaſion to retyre vnto our Boates, and within a little ſpace came to the Boothes and landing places, as though wee came from our Shippes to ayde them. They began to recount vnto vs, how that at the weſter poynt of the Iland, out of certaine Cannoas, had landed a multitude of *Indians*, which with a great out-cry came vpon them, and aſſaulted them fiercely, but finding better reſiſtance then they looked for, and ſeeing themſelues diſcovered by the Shippes, tooke themſelues to their heeles, and returned to their Cannoas, in which they imbarked themſelues, and departed. One affirmed, he ſaw the Cannoas; another, their long hayre; a third, their Bowes; a fourth, that it could not be, but that ſome of them had their payments. And it was worth the ſight, to behold thoſe which had not moved out of their beds in many Moneths, (vnleſſe by the helpe of others) gotten, ſome a bow-ſhoot off into the Woods, others into the toppes of Trees, and thoſe which had any ſtrength, ioyned together to fight for their liues. In fine, the Booths and Tents were left deſolate.

The events of good watch.

To colour our buſineſſe the better, after we had ſpent ſome houre

in

in ſeeking out, and ioyning the Companie together, in comforting, animating, and commending them; I left them an extraordinary Guard for that night, and ſo departed to our Shippes, with ſuch an opinion of the aſſault, given by the *Indians*, that many ſo poſſeſſed (through all the Voyage) would not be perſwaded to the contrary. Which impreſſion wrought ſuch effect in moſt of my Companie, that in all places where the *Indians* might annoy vs, they were after moſt carefull and vigilant, as was convenient.

In theſe Ilands it heigheth and falleth ſome fiue or ſix foot water, and but once in two and twentie houres; as in all this Coaſt, and in many parts of the Weſt *Indies*; as alſo in the coaſt of *Perew* and *Chely* (laying where are great Bayes or indraughts) and there the tydes keepe their ordinary courſe of twice in foure and twentie houres.

In the leſſer of theſe Ilands, is a Caue for a ſmall Ship to ride in, Land-lockt, and ſhee may moore her ſelfe to the trees of either ſide: this we called *Palmito* Iland, for the aboundance it hath of the greater ſort of *Palmito* trees, the other hath none at all. A man may goe betwixt the Ilands with his Ship, but the better courſe is out at one end. *Palmito* Iland.

In theſe Ilands are many Scorpions, Snakes, and Adders, with other venemous Vermine. They haue Parotts, and a certaine kinde of fowle like vnto Pheſants, ſomewhat bigger, and ſeeme to be of their nature. Here we ſpent aboue a moneth in curing of our ſicke men, ſupplying our wants of Wood and Water, and in other neceſſary workes. And the tenth of December (all things put in order) we ſet ſayle for *Cape Frio*, having onely ſix men ſicke, with purpoſe there to ſet aſhore our two Priſoners before named; and anchoring vnder the Cape, we ſent our Boat a ſhore, but they could not finde any conuenient place to land them in, and ſo returned: the Wind being Southerly, and not good to goe on our voyage, we ſuccoured our ſelues within *Iſla Grand*, which lyeth ſome dozen or foureteene Leagues from the Cape, betwixt the Weſt, and by South and Weſt South-weſt; the rather to ſet our Priſoners a ſhore.

In the mid way betwixt the Cape and this Iland, lyeth the River *Ienero*, a very good Harbour, fortified with a Garriſon, and a place well peopled. The *Iſla Grand*, is ſome eight or ten Leagues long, and cauſeth a goodly Harbour for Shipping; It is full of great ſandie Bayes; and in the moſt of them is ſtore of good water; within this Iland are many other ſmaller Ilands, which cauſe diuers ſounds and creekes; and amongſt theſe little Ilands, one, for the pleaſant ſcituation and fenilitie thereof, called *Placentia*. This is peopled, *Ienero*. Little Iland.

all the reſt deſert: on this Iland our Priſoners deſired to be put aſhore, and promiſed to ſend vs ſome refreſhing. Whereto we condeſcended, and ſent them a ſhore, with two Boates well man'd and armed, who found few Inhabitants in the Iland; for our people ſaw not aboue foure or fiue houſes, notwithſtanding our Boats returned loaden with Plantynes, Pinias, Potatoes, Sugar-canes, and ſome Hennes. Amongſt which they brought a kind of little Plantyne, greene, and round, which were the beſt of any that I haue ſeene.

With our people came a Portingall, who ſaid, that the Iland was his; he ſeemed to be a *Miſtecho*, who are thoſe that are of a Spaniſh and an *Indian* brood, poorely apparelled and miſerable; we feaſted him, and gaue him ſome trifles, and he according to his abilitie anſwered our courteſie with ſuch as he had.

Iſla Grand. The wind continuing contrary, we emptied all the water wee could come by, which we had filled in Saint *Iames* his Iland, and filled our Caske with the water of this *Iſla Grand*. It is a wilderneſſe covered with Trees and Shrubbes ſo thicke, as it hath no paſſage through, except a man make it by force. And it was ſtrange to heare the howling and cryes of wilde Beaſtes in theſe Woods day and night, which we could not come at to ſee by any meanes; ſome like Lyons, others like Beares, others like Hoggs, and of ſuch and ſo many diverſities, as was admirable.

Shells of mother of pearle. Heere our Nets profited vs much; for in the ſandy Bayes they tooke vs ſtore of fiſh. Vpon the ſhore at full Sea-marke, we found in many places certaine ſhels, like thoſe of Mother of Pearles, which are brought out of the Eaſt *Indies*, to make ſtanding cups, called *Caracoles*; of ſo great curioſitie as might moue all the beholders to magnifie the maker of them; And were it not for the brittlenes of them, by reaſon of their exceeding thinnes, doubtles they were to bee eſteemed farre aboue the others; for, more excellent workemanſhip I haue not ſeene in ſhels.

The 18. of December, wee ſet ſayle the wind at North-eaſt, and directed our courſe for the Straites of *Magalianes*. The twenty two of this moneth, at the going too of the Sunne, we deſcryed a Portingall ſhip, and gaue her chaſe, and comming within hayling of her, ſhee rendred her ſelfe, without any reſiſtance, ſhee was of an hundred Tuns bound for *Angola* to load Negroes, to be carried and ſold in the River of *Plate*; It is a trade of great profit, & much vſed, for that the Negroes are carried from the head of the river of *Plate*, to *Patoſi*, to labour in the Mynes. It is a bad Negro, who is not worth there fiue or ſix hundreth peeces, every peece of eight Royals, which they receiue in Royals of Plate, for there is no other Marchan-

Price of Negroes.

dize

dize in thoſe partes. Some haue told me, that of late they haue found out the trade, and benefit of *Cochanillia*, but the River ſuffereth not veſſels of burthen; for if they drawe aboue eight or ſeaven foote water, they cannot goo further, then the mouth of the River, and the firſt habitation is aboue a hundred and twenty leagues vp, whereunto many Barkes trade yearely, and carry all kinde of Marchandize ſerving for *Patoſi* and *Paraquay*; the money which is thence returned, is diſtributed in all the Coaſt of *Braſill*.

The loading of this Ship was meale of *Caſſavi*, which the Portingals call *Farina du Paw*. It ſerved for Marchandize in *Angola*, for the Portingals foode in the ſhip, and to nouriſh the Negroes, which they ſhould carry to the river of *Plate*; This meale is made of a certaine roote which the *Indians* call *Yuca*, much like vnto *Potatoes*. Of it are two kindes; the one ſweete and good to be eaten (either roſted or ſodden) as *Potatoes*, and the other of which they make their bread, called *Caſſavi*, deadly poyſon, if the liquor or iuyce bee not throughly preſſed out. So prepared it is the bread of *Braſill*, and many parts of the *Indies*, which they make in this maner: firſt they pare the roote, and then vpon a rough ſtone they grate it as ſmall as they can, and after that it is grated ſmall, they put it into a bag or poke, and betwixt two Stones with great waight, they preſſe out the iuyce, or poyſon, and after keepe it in ſome bag, till it haue no iuyce nor moyſture left. Of this they make two ſorts of bread, the one finer, and the other courſer, but bake them after one maner. They place a great broad ſmooth ſtone vpon other foure, which ſerue in ſteede of a Trevet, and make a quicke fire vnder it, and ſo ſtrawe the flower or meale a foote long, and halfe a foot broad. To make it to incorporate, they ſprinkle now and then a little water, and then another rowe of meale, and another ſprinkling, till it be to their minde; That which is to be ſpent preſently, they make a finger thicke, and ſometimes more thicke; but that which they make for ſtore, is not aboue halfe a finger thicke, but ſo hard, that if it fall on the ground it will not breake eaſily: Being newly baked, it is reaſonable good, but after fewe dayes it is not to be eaten, except it be ſoaked in water. In ſome partes they ſuffer the meale to become ſenoed, before they make it into bread, and hold it for the beſt, ſaying, that it giueth a better taſt, but I am not of that opinion; In other parts they mingle it with a fruite called *Agnanes*, which are round, and being ripe are gray, and as big as an hazell nut, and grow in a cod like peale, but that it is all curiouſly wrought, firſt they parch them vpon a ſtone, and after beate them into powder, and then mingle them with the fine flower of *Caſſavi*, and bake them

Caſſavi meale.

The preparing thereof for food.

them into bread, theſe are their ſpice-cakes, which they call *Xanxaw*.

Agnanapes. The *Agnanapes* are pleaſant, giue the bread a yellowiſh colour, and an Aromaticall ſauour in taſte. The finer of this bread, being well baked, keepeth long time, three or foure yeares. In *Braſill*, ſince the *Portingalls* taught the *Indians* the vſe of Sugar, they eate this meale mingled with remels of Sugar, or Malaſſes; and in this manner the *Portingalls* themſelues feed of it.

But we found a better manner of dreſſing this *Farina*, in making Pancakes, and frying them with butter, or oyle; and ſometimes with *Manteca de Puerco*; when, ſtrewing a little Sugar vpon them, it was meate that our company deſired aboue any that was in the Shippe.

And for Beverage. The *Indians* alſo accuſtome to make their drinke of this meale, and in three ſeuerall manners.

Firſt, is chewing it in their mouths, and after mingling it with water, after a loathſome manner, yet the commoneſt drinke that they haue; and that held beſt which is chewed by an old woman.

The ſecond manner of their drinke, is baking it till it be halfe burned, then they beate it into Powder; and when they will drinke, they mingle a ſmall quantitie of it with water, which giueth a reaſonable good taſte.

The third, and beſt, is baking it (as aforeſaid) and when it is beaten into Powder, to ſeeth it in water; after that it is well boyled, they let it ſtand ſome three or foure dayes, and then drinke it. So, it is much like the Ale which is vſed in *England*, and of that colour and taſte.

The manner of planting *Iuca*, The *Indians* are very curious in planting and manuring of this *Iuca*; It is a little ſhrubb, and carryeth branches like Hazell wands; being growne as bigge as a mans finger, they breake them off in the middeſt, and ſo pricke them into the ground; it needeth no other art, or husbandry, for out of each branch grow two, three, or foure rootes, ſome bigger, ſome leſſer: but firſt they burne and manure the ground, the which labour, and whatſoeuer els is requiſite, the men doe not ſo much as helpe with a finger, but all lyeth vpon their poore women, who are worſe then ſlaues; for, they labour the ground, they plant, they digge and delue, they bake, they brew, and dreſſe their meate, fetch their water, and doe all drudgerie whatſoeuer; yea, though they nurſe a Childe, they are not exempted from any labour; their Childe they carry in a Wallet about their necke, ordinarily vnder one arme, becauſe it may ſucke when it will.

with the labour of the women.

The men haue care for nothing but for their Cannoas, to paſſe from place to place, and of their Bowes and Arrowes to hunt, and their Armes for the warre, which is a ſword of heavie blacke wood, ſome foure fingers broad, an inch thicke, and an ell long, ſomething broader towards the toppe then at the handle. They call it *Macana*, and it is carved and wrought with inlayd works very curiouſly, but his edges are blunt. If any kill any Game in hunting, he bringeth it not with him, but from the next tree to the Game, he breaketh a bough (for the trees in the *Indies* haue leaues for the moſt part all the yeare) and all the way as he goeth ſtreweth little peeces of it, here and there, and comming home giueth a peece to his woman, and ſo ſends her for it.

If they goe to the Warre, or in any iourney, where it is neceſſary to carry proviſion, or Marchandize, the women ſerue to carry all, and the men never ſuccour, nor eaſe them; wherein they ſhew greater Barbariſme then in any thing (in my opinion) that I haue noted amongſt them, except in eating one another.

In *Braſill*, and in the weſt *Indies*, the *Indian* may haue as many wiues as he can get, either bought or given by her friends: the men and women (for the moſt part) goe naked, and thoſe which haue come to know their ſhame, cover onely their privie parts with a peece of cloth, the reſt of their body is naked. Their houſes reſemble great Barnes, covered over, or thatched with Plantyne leaues, which reach to the ground, and at either end is the doore. Polygamy of the *Indians*; Their attire.

In one houſe are ſometimes ten or twentie houſholds: they haue little houſhold ſtuffe, beſides their beds, which they call *Hamacas*, and are made of Cotton, and ſtayned with divers colours and workes. Some I haue ſeene white, of great curioſitie. They are as a ſheete laced at both ends, and at either of them long ſtrappes, with which they faſten them to two poſts, as high as a mans middle, and ſo ſit rocking themſelues in them. Sometimes they vſe them for ſeates, and ſometimes to ſleepe in at their pleaſures. In one of them I haue ſeene ſleepe the man, his wife, and a childe. Their manner of houſing. And ſleeping.

SECT. XXVIII.

WEe tooke out of this Prize, for our proviſion, ſome good quantitie of this meale, and the Sugar ſhee had, being not aboue three or foure Cheſts, after three dayes we gaue the Ship to the Portingalls, and to them libertie. In her was a Portingall Knight, which went for Governour of *Angola*, of the habit of Chriſt, with fiftie ſouldiers, and Armes for a hundreth and fiftie, with his wife and daughter. He was old, and complained, that after many yeares ſervice for his King, with ſundry miſhapps, he was brought to that poore eſtate, as for the reliefe of his wife, his daughter, and himſelfe, he had no other ſubſtance, but that he had in the Ship. It moued compaſſion, ſo as nothing of his was diminiſhed, which though to vs was of no great moment, in *Angola* it was worth good Crownes. Onely we diſarmed them all, and let them depart, ſaying, that they would returne to Saint *Vincents*.

We continued our courſe for the *Straites*, my people much animated with this vnlookt for refreſhing, and praiſed God for his bountie, providence, and grace extended towards vs. Here it will not be out of the way to ſpeake a word of the particularities of the Countrie.

SECT. XXIX.

The deſcription of *Braſill*.

BRASILL is accounted to be that part of *America*, which lyeth towards our North ſea, betwixt the River of the *Amazons*, neere the lyne to the Norwards, vntill a man come to the River of *Plate* in 36. degrees to the Southwards of the lyne.

This coaſt generally lyeth next of any thing South and by weſt; It is a temperate Countrie, though in ſome parts it exceedeth in heate; it is full of good ſuccours for ſhipping, and plentifull for Rivers and freſh waters; The principall habitations, are *Farnambuca*, the Bay *De todos los Santos*, *Noſtra Senora de victoria*, alias *Santos*, the River *Ienero*, Saint *Vincents*, and *Placentia*; every of them prouided of a good Port. The winds are variable, but for the moſt part trade alongſt the Coaſt.

Its Havens.

The

The Commodities this Country yeeldeth, are the wood called *Braſill*, whereof the beſt is that of *Farnambuc*; (ſo alſo called, being vſed in moſt rich colours) good Cotton-wooll, great ſtore of Sugar, Ballamom, and liquid Amber. Its Commodities.

They haue want of all manner of Cloth, Lynnen, and Woollen, of Iron, and edge-Tooles, of Copper, and principally in ſome places, of Wax, of Wine, of Oyle, and meale, (for the Country beareth no Corne) and of all manner of Haberdaſhery-wares, for the *Indians*. Its wants.

The beaſts that naturally breed in this Country, are Tygers, Lyons, Hoggs, Dogges, Deere, Monkeyes, Mycos, and Conies, like vnto Ratts, but bigger, and of a tawney colour, Armadilloes, Alagartoes, and ſtore of venemous wormes and Serpents, as Scorpions, Adders, which they call *Vinoras*; and of them, one kind, which the diuine prouidence hath created with a bell vpon his head, that whereſoeuer he goeth, the ſound of it might be heard, and ſo the Serpent ſhunned; for his ſtinging is without remedie. This they call the *Vinora* with the bell; of them there are many, and great ſtore of Snakes, ſome of that greatneſſe, as to write the truth, might ſeeme fabulous. The beſtiall thereof.

Another worme there is in this Country, which killed many of the firſt Inhabitants, before God was pleaſed to diſcouer a remedie for it, vnto a religious perſon; It is like a Magot, but more ſlender, and longer, and of a greene colour, with a red head; This worme creepeth in at the hinder parts, where is the euacuation of our ſuperfluities, and there (as it were) gleweth himſelfe to the gutt, there feedeth of the bloud and humors, and becommeth ſo great, that ſtopping the naturall paſſage, he forceth the principall wheele of the clocke of our bodie to ſtand ſtill, and with it the accompt of the houres of life to take end, with moſt cruell torment and paine, which is ſuch, that he who hath beene throughly puniſhed with the Collique can quickly decipher or demonſtrate. The Antidote for this pernicious Worme is Garlique; and this was diſcouered by a Phyſitian to a religious perſon. The diſcommodities.

SECT. XXX.

Santa Catalina. BEtwixt 26. and 27. degrees neere the coast lieth an Iland; the *Portingalls* call it *Santa Catalina*, which is a reasonable Harbour, and hath good refreshing of wood, water, and fruit. It is desolate and serveth for those, who trade from *Brasill* to the River of *Plate*, or from the River to *Brasill*, as an Inne, or bayting place.

Variation of the Compasse. In our Navigation towards the *Straites*, by our observation wee found, that our Compasse varyed a poynt and better to the Eastwards. And for that divers haue written curiously and largely of the variation thereof, I referre them that desire the vnderstanding of it, to the Discourse of master *William Aborrough*, and others; for it is a secret, whose causes well vnderstood are of greatest moment in all Navigations.

In the height of the River of *Plate*, we being some fiftie leagues off the coast, a storme tooke vs Southerly, which endured fortie eight houres; In the first day about the going downe of the Sunne, *Robert Tharlton*, master of the *Fancie*, bare vp before the wind, without giuing vs any token or signe, that shee was in distresse. We seeing her to continue her course, bare vp after her, and the night comming on, we carryed our light; but shee never answered vs; for they kept their course directly for *England*, which was the ouerthrow of the Voyage, as well for that we had no Pynace to goe before vs, to discover any danger, to seeke out roades and anchoring, to helpe our watering and refreshing; as also for the victuals, necessaries, and men which they carryed away with them: which though they were not many, yet with their helpe in our fight, we had taken the Vice-admirall, the first time shee bourded with vs, as shall be hereafter manifested. For once we cleered her Decke, and had we beene able to haue spared but a dozen men, doubtlesse, we had done with her what we would; for shee had no close fights.

The ouerthrow of the Voyage.

The cause, Moreover, if shee had beene with me, I had not beene discovered vpon the coast of *Perew*. But I was worthy to be deceived, that trusted my Ship in the hands of an hypocrite, and a man which had left his Generall before in the like occasion, and in the selfe same place; for being with master *Thomas Candish*, master of a small Ship in the voyage wherein he dyed, this Captaine being aboord the Admirall, in the night time forsooke his Fleet, his Generall and Captaine, and returned home.

Infidelitie.

This

This bad cuſtome is too too much vſed amongſt Sea-men, and worthy to be ſeverely puniſhed; for doubtleſſe the not puniſhing of thoſe offenders, hath beene the prime cauſe of many lamentable events, loſſes, and overthrowes, to the diſhonour of our Nation, and fruſtrating of many good and honourable Enterpriſes.

In this poynt of Diſcipline, the *Spaniards* doe farre ſurpaſſe vs; for whoſoever forſaketh his Fleete, or Commander, is not onely ſeverely puniſhed, but deprived alſo of all charge or government for ever after. This in our Countrie is many times neglected; for that there is none to follow the cauſe, the principalls being either dead with griefe, or drowned in the gulfe of povertie, and ſo not able to wade through with the burthen of that ſuite, which in *Spaine* is proſecuted by the Kings Atturney, or Fiſcall; or at leaſt, a Iudge appoynted for determining that cauſe purpoſely. Diſcipline of the Spaniſh.

Yea, I cannot attribute the good ſucceſſe the *Spaniard* hath had in his Voyages and peoplings, to any extraordinary vertue more in him then in any other man, were not Diſcipline, Patience, and juſtice far ſuperior. For in valour, experience, and travell, he ſurpaſſeth vs not; In ſhipping, preparation, and plentie of victualls, hee commeth not neere vs; In paying and rewarding our people, no Nation did goe beyond vs; But God, who is a iuſt and bountifull rewarder, regarding obedience farre aboue ſacrifice, doubtleſſe, in recompence of their indurance, reſolution, and ſubiection to commandement, beſtoweth vpon them the bleſſing due vnto it. And this, not for that the *Spaniard* is of a more tractable diſpoſition, or more docible nature then wee, but that juſtice halteth with vs, and ſo the old Proverbe is verified, *Pittie marreth the whole Cittie.* the only cauſe of their proſperities.

Thus come we to be deprived of the ſweet fruit, which the Rod of Diſcipline bringeth with it, repreſented vnto vs in auncient Verſes, which as a Relique of experience I haue heard in my youth Recorded by a wiſe Man, and a great Captaine; Thus;

The rod by power divine, and earthly Regall law,
Makes good men liue in peace, and bad to ſtand in awe:
For with a ſevere ſtroke the bad corrected be,
Which makes the good to ioy ſuch iuſtice for to ſee;
The rod of Diſcipline breeds feare in every part,
Reward by due deſert doth ioy and glad the heart.

The cunning of Runnawayes.

These absentings and escapes are made most times onely to pilfer and steale, as well by taking of some prise when they are alone, and without commaund, to hinder or order their bad proceedings, as to appropriate that which is in their intrusted ship; casting the fault, if they be called to account, vpon some poore and vnknowne Mariners, whom they suffer with a little pillage, to absent themselues, the cunninglier to colour their greatest disorders, and robberies.

and ignoble Captaines,

For doubtlesse, if he would, hee might haue come vnto vs with great facilitie; because within sixteene houres, the storme ceased, and the winde came fayre, which brought vs to the *Straites*, and dured many dayes after with vs at North-east. This was good for them, though naught for vs: If he had perished any Mast or Yard, sprung any leake, wanted victuals, or instruments for finding vs, or had had any other impediment of importance, hee might haue had some colour to cloake his lewdnes: but his Mastes and Yards being sound, his Shippe staunch and loaden with victuales for two yeares at the least, and having order from place to place, where to finde vs, his intention is easily seene to bee bad, and his fault such, as worthily deserved to bee made exemplary vnto others. Which he manifested at his returne, by his manner of proceeding, making a spoyle of the prise hee tooke in the way homewards, as also of that which was in the ship, putting it into a Port fit for his purpose, where he might haue time and commodity to doe what hee would.

verified at their returnes.

Wee made account that they had beene swallowed vp of the sea, for we never suspected that any thing could make them forsake vs; So, we much lamented them. The storme ceasing, and being out of all hope, we set sayle and went on our course. During this storme, certaine great fowles, as big as Swannes, soared about vs, and the winde calming, setled themselues in the Sea, and fed vpon the sweepings of our Ship; which I perceiving, and desirous to see of them, because they seemed farre greater then in truth they were, I caused a hooke and lyne to be brought me; and with a peece of a Pilchard I bayted the hook, & a foot from it, tyed a peece of corke, that it might not sinke deepe, and threw it into the Sea, which, our ship driving with the Sea, in a little time was a good space from vs, and one of the Fowles being hungry, presently seized vpon it, and the hooke in his vpper beake. It is like to a Faulcons bill, but that the poynt is more crooked, in that maner, as by no meanes he could cleare himselfe, except that the lyne brake, or the hooke righted: Plucking him towards the ship, with the waving of his wings he

Birds like Swans

caught with line and hooke

he eaſed the waight of his body; and being brought to the ſterne of our ſhip, two of our Company went downe by the Ladder of the poope, and ſeized on his necke and wings; but ſuch were the blowes he gaue them with his Pinnions, as both left their hand-faſt, being beaten blacke and blew; we caſt a ſnare about his necke, and ſo tryced him into the Ship.

By the ſame manner of Fiſhing, we caught ſo many of them, as refreſhed and recreated all my people for that day. Their bodies were great, but of little fleſh and tender; in taſte anſwerable to the food whereon they feed. Proue good refreſhment.

They were of two colours, ſome white, ſome gray; they had three ioynts in each wing; and from the poynt of one wing, to the poynt of the other, both ſtretched out, was aboue two fathomes.

The wind continued good with vs, till we came to 49. degrees and 30. minuts, where it tooke vs Weſterly, being (as we made our accompt) ſome fiftie leagues from the ſhore. Betwixt 49. and 48. degrees, is Port Saint *Iulian*, a good Harbour, and in which a man may graue his Ship, though ſhee draw fifteene or ſixteene foote water: But care is to be had of the people called *Pentagones*. They are treacherous, and of great ſtature, ſo the moſt giue them the name of Gyants. Care of the *Pentagones*.

The ſecond of February, about nine of the Clocke in the morning, we diſcryed land, which bare South-weſt of vs, which wee looked not for ſo timely; and comming neerer and neerer vnto it, by the lying, wee could not coniecture what land it ſhould be; for we were next of any thing in 48. degrees, and no Platt nor Sea-card which we had, made mention of any land, which lay in that manner, neere about that height; In fine, wee brought our Lar-bord tacke aboord, and ſtood to the North-eaſt-wardes all that day and night, and the Winde continuing Weſterly and a fayre gale, wee continued our courſe alongſt the coaſt the day and night following. In which time wee made accompt we diſcouered well neere three-ſcore leagues off the coaſt. It is bold, and made ſmall ſhew of dangers.

The land is a goodly Champion Country, and peopled; we ſaw many fires, but could not come to ſpeake with the people; for the time of the yeare was farre ſpent to ſhoot the *Straites*, and the wane of our Pynace diſabled vs for finding a Port or Ronde; not being diſcretion with a ſhip of charge, and in an vnknowne coaſt, to come neere the ſhore before it was ſounded; which were cauſes, together with the change of the winde, (good for vs to paſſe the *Straite*) that hindered the further diſcovery of this Land, with its ſecrets: A deſcription of the vnknowne land.

A caueat for comming ſuddenly too nere an vnknowne land.

This I haue ſorrowed for many times ſince, for that it had likelihood to be an excellent Countrie. It hath great Rivers of freſh waters; for the out-ſhoot of them colours the Sea in many places, as we ran alongſt it. It is not mountaynous, but much of the diſpoſition of *England*, and as temperate. The things we noted principally on the coaſt, are theſe following; the weſtermoſt poynt of the land, with which we firſt fell, is the end of the land to the Weſt-wardes, as we found afterwards. If a man bring this poynt South-weſt, it riſeth in three mounts, or round hillockes: bringing it more Weſterly, they ſhoot themſelues all into one; and bringing it Eaſterly, it riſeth in two hillocks. This we called poynt *Tremountaine*. Some twelue or foureteene leagues from this poynt to the Eaſt-wardes, fayre by the ſhore, lyeth a low flat Iland of ſome two leagues long; we named it *Fayre Iland*; for it was all over as greene and ſmooth, as any Meddow in the ſpring of the yeare.

Poynt *Tremountaine*.

Fayre Iland.

Some three or foure leagues Eaſterly from this Iland, is a goodly opening, as of a great River, or an arme of the Sea, with a goodly low Countrie adiacent. And eight or tenne leagues from this opening, ſome three leagues from the ſhore, lyeth a bigge Rocke, which at the firſt wee had thought to be a Shippe vnder all her Sayles; but after, as we came neere, it diſcovered it ſelfe to be a Rocke, which we called *Condite-head*; for that howſoever a man commeth with it, it is like to the Condite heads about the Cittie of *London*.

Condite head.

All this coaſt ſo farre as wee diſcovered, lyeth next of any thing Eaſt and by North, and Weſt and by South. The land, for that it was diſcovered in the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, my ſoveraigne Lady and Miſtris, and a maiden Queene, and at my coſt and adventure, in a perpetuall memory of her chaſtitie, and remembrance of my endevours, I gaue it the name of HAWKINS-*maiden-land*.

Hawkins-maiden-land.

Before a man fall with this land, ſome twentie or thirtie leagues, he ſhall meete with bedds of Oreweed, driving to and fro in that Sea, with white flowers growing vpon them, and ſometimes farther off; which is a good ſhow and ſigne the land is neere, whereof the Weſtermoſt part lyeth ſome threeſcore leagues from the neereſt land of *America*.

Bedds of Oreweed, with white flowers.

With our fayre and large Winde, we ſhaped our courſe for the *Straites*, and the tenth of February, we had ſight of land, and it was the head land of the *Straites* to the North-wards, which agreed with our height, wherein we found our ſelues to be, which was in thirtie two degrees and fortie minutes.

Our comming to the *Straites*.

Within a few houres we had the mouth of the *Straites* open, which lyeth in 52. degrees, and 50. minuts. It riſeth like the North foreland in *Kent*, and is much like the land of *Margates*. It is not good to borrow neere the ſhore, but to giue it a fayre birth; within a few houres we entred the mouth of the *Straites*, which is ſome ſix leagues broad, and lyeth in 52. degrees, and 50. minutes; doubling the poynt on the Star-board, which is alſo flat, of a good birth, we opened a fayre Bay, in which we might diſcry the hull of a Ship beaten vpon the Beach. It was of the Spaniſh Fleete, that went to inhabite there, in Anno 1582. vnder the charge of *Pedro Sarmiento*, who at his returne was taken Priſoner, and brought into *England*.

In this Bay the *Spaniards* made their principall habitation, and called it the Cittie of Saint *Philip*, and left it peopled; But the cold barrennes of the Countrie, and the malice of the *Indians*, with whom they badly agreed, made ſpeedie end of them, as alſo of thoſe, whom they left in the middle of the *Straites*, three leagues from Cape *Froward* to the Eaſt-wards, in another habitation. *Pedro Sarmiento* buildeth *San-Philip*.

We continued our courſe alongſt this reach (for all the *Straites* is as a River altering his courſe, ſometimes vpon one poynt, ſometimes vpon another) which is ſome eight Leagues long, and lyeth Weſt North-weſt. From this we entred into a goodly Bay, which ranneth vp into the land Northerly many Leagues, and at firſt entrance, a man may ſee no other thing, but as it were, a maine Sea. From the end of this firſt reach, you muſt direct your courſe Weſt South-weſt, and ſome foureteene or fifteene leagues lyeth one of the narroweſt places of all the *Straites*; This leadeth vnto another reach, that lyeth weſt and by north ſome ſix leagues.

Here in the middle of the reach, the wind tooke vs by the north-weſt, and ſo we were forced to anchor ſome two or three dayes. In which time, we went a ſhore with our Boates, and found neere the middle of this reach, on the Star-boord ſide, a reaſonable good place to ground and trimme a ſmall Ship; where it high-eth ſome nine or ten foote water. Here we ſaw certaine Hogges, but they were ſo farre from vs, that wee could not diſcerne, if they were of thoſe of the Countrie, or brought by the *Spaniards*; theſe were all the Beaſts which we ſaw in all the time we were in the *Straites*.

In two tydes we turned through this reach, and ſo recovered the Ilands of *Pengwins*; they lye from this reach foure leagues South-weſt and by weſt. Till you come to this place, care is to be taken of not comming too neere to any poynt of the Land; for being (for the moſt part) ſandie, they haue ſholding off them, and are ſome- Note.

The Ilands of *Pengwins.*

what dangerous. Theſe Ilands haue beene ſet forth by ſome to be three; we could diſcover but two; And they are no more, except that part of the Mayne, which lyeth over againſt them, be an Iland; which carrieth little likelihood, and I cannot determine it. A man may ſayle betwixt the two Ilands, or betwixt them and the Land on the larboord ſide; from which land to the bigger Iland is as it were a bridge or ledge, on which is foure or fiue fathome water; and to him that commeth neere it, not knowing thereof, may iuſtly cauſe feare: for it ſheweth to be ſhold water with his rypling, like vnto a race.

Betwixt the former reach, and theſe Ilands, runneth vp a goodly Bay into the Country to the North-wards. It cauſeth a great indraught, and aboue theſe Ilands runneth a great tide from the mouth of the Straites to theſe Ilands, the land on the larboord-ſide is low land and ſandy, (for the moſt part, and without doubt, Ilands) for it hath many openings into the Sea, and forcible indraughts by them, and that on the ſtarboord ſide, is all high mountaynous land, from end to end; but no wood on eyther ſide. Before wee paſſed theſe Ilands, vnder the lee of the bigger Iland we anchored, the wind being at North-eaſt, with intent to refreſh our ſelues with the fowles of theſe Ilands. They are of divers ſorts, and in great plentie, as *Pengwins*, wilde *Ducks*, *Gulles* and *Gannets*; of the principall we purpoſed to make proviſion, and thoſe were the *Pengwins*; which in Welſh (as I haue beene enformed) ſignifieth a white head. From which derivation, and many other Welſh denominations given by the *Indians* (or their predeceſſors) ſome doe inferre, that *America* was firſt peopled with Welſh-men: and *Motezuma* King (or rather Emperour) of *Mexico*, did recount vnto the Spaniards (at their firſt comming) that his Auncеſtors came from a farre Countrie, and were white people. Which conferred with an auncient Cronicle, that I haue read many yeares ſince, may bee coniectured to bee a Prince of *Wales*, who many hundreth yeares ſince, with certaine ſhippes, ſayled to the weſtwards, with intent to make new diſcoveries. Hee was never after heard of.

Good proviſion in the *Straites.*

The deſcription of the *Pengwin.*

The *Pengwin*, is in all proportion like vnto a Gooſe, and hath no feathers, but a certaine doune vpon all parts of his body: and therefore cannot flie, but avayleth himſelfe in all occaſions with his feete, running as faſt as moſt men. He liveth in the Sea, and on the Land; feedeth on fiſh in the Sea, and as a Gooſe on the ſhore vpon graſſe. They harbour themſelues vnder the ground in burrowes, as the Connies; and in them hatch their young. All parts of the

Iland

Iland where they haunted were vndermined, ſaue onely one valley which (it ſeemeth) they reſerved for their foode; for it was as green as any Medowe in the moneth of Aprill, with a moſt fine ſhort graſſe. The fleſh of theſe *Pengwins* is much of the ſavour of a certaine fowle taken in the Ilands of *Lundey* and *Silley*, which wee call *Puffins*; by the taſt it is eaſily diſcerned that they feede on fiſh. They are very fatt, and in dreſſing muſt be ſtead as the *Byter*; they are reaſonable meate, roſted, baked, or ſodden; but beſt roſted. We ſalted ſome dozen or 16. hogſheads, which ſerved vs (whileſt they laſted) in ſteede of powdred beefe.

The hunting of them (as we may well terme it) was a great recreation to my Company and worth the ſight, for in determining to catch them, neceſſarily was required good ſtore of people, every one with a cudgell in his hand, to compaſſe them round about, to bring them, as it were, into a ring; if they chanced to breake out, then was the ſport, for the ground being vndermined, at vnawares it fayled, and as they ran after them, one fell here, another there; another offering to ſtrike at one, lifting vp his hand, ſunke vpp to the arme-pits in the earth, another leaping to avoyd one hole, fell into another. And after the firſt ſlaughter, in ſeeing vs on the ſhore, they ſhunned vs, and procured to recover the Sea; yea manytimes ſeeing themſelues perſecuted they would tumble downe from ſuch high rocks & mountaines, as it ſeemed impoſſible to eſcape with life. Yet as ſoone as they came to the beach, preſently wee ſhould ſee them runne into the Sea, as though they had no hurt. Where one goeth, the other followeth like ſheepe after the Bel-wether; but in getting them once within the ring cloſe together, few eſcaped, ſaue ſuch as by chance hid themſelues in the borrowes, and ordinarily there was no droue which yeelded vs not a thouſand, and more: the maner of killing them which the hunters vſed, being in a cloſter together, was with their cudgels to knocke them on the head; for though a man gaue them many blowes on the body, they died not: Beſides the fleſh bruſed is not good to keepe. The Maſſaker ended, preſently they cut off their heads, that they might bleede well: ſuch as we determined to keepe for ſtore, wee ſaved in this maner. Firſt, we ſplit them, and then waſhed them well in ſea water, then ſalted them, having layne ſome ſixe howres in ſalt, wee put them in preſſe eight howres, and the blood being ſoaked out, we ſalted them againe in our other caske, as is the cuſtome to ſalt beefe, after this maner they continued good, ſome two moneths, and ſerved vs in ſtead of beefe.

Hunting the *Pengwin.*

The keeping for ſtore.

The *Gulls* and *Gannets*, were not in ſo great quantitie, yet we wan- The *Gulls*,

ted not young Gulles to eate all the time of our ſtay about theſe Ilands. It was one of the delicateſt foodes, that I haue eaten in all my life.

Ducks. The Ducks are different to ours, and nothing ſo good meate; yet they may ſerue for neceſſitie: They were many, and had a part of the Iland to themſelues ſeverall, which was the higheſt hill, and more then a Musket ſhott over.

In all the dayes of my life, I haue not ſeene greater Art and curioſitie in creatures voyd of reaſon, then in the placing and making of their neſtes; all the hill being ſo full of them, that the greateſt *Mathematician* of the world, could not deviſe how to place one more then there was vpon the hill, leaving onely one path-way for a fowle to paſſe betwixt.

The hill was all levell, as if it had beene ſmoothed by Art; the neſtes made onely of earth, and ſeeming to be of the ſelfe ſame mould; for the neſts and the ſoyle is all one, which, with water that they bring in their Beakes, they make into Clay, or a certaine dawbe, and after faſhion them round, as with a Compaſſe. In the bottome they containe the meaſure of a foote; in the height about eight inches; and in the toppe, the ſame quantitie over; there, they are hollowed in, ſomewhat deepe, wherein they lay their eggs, without other prevention. And I am of opinion, that the Sunne helpeth them to hatch their young: their neſts are for many yeares, and of one proportion, not one exceeding another in bigneſſe, in height, nor circumference; and in proportionable diſtance one from another. In all this hill, nor in any of their neſtes, was to be found a blade of graſſe, a ſtraw, a ſticke, a feather, a moate, no, nor the filing of any fowle, but all the neſtes and paſſages betwixt them, were ſo ſmooth and cleane, as if they had beene newly ſwept and waſhed.

All which are motiues to prayſe and magnifie the vniverſall Creator, who ſo wonderfully manifeſteth his wiſedome, bountie, and providence in all his Creatures, and eſpecially for his particular loue to ingratefull mankinde, for whoſe contemplation and ſervice, he hath made them all.

(∴)

SECT. XXXI.

ONe day having ended our hunting of *Pengwins*, one of our Mariners walking about the Iland, diſcovered a great company of Seales, or Sea-wolues (ſo called for that they are in the Sea, as the Wolues on the Land) adviſing vs, that he left them ſleeping, with their bellies roſting againſt the Sunne; wee provided our ſelues with ſtaues, and other weapons, and ſought to ſteale vpon them at vnawares, to ſurpriſe ſome of them, and comming downe the ſide of a hill, wee were not diſcovered, till we were cloſe vpon them, notwithſtanding, their Sentinell (before we could approach) with a great howle waked them: wee got betwixt the Sea and ſome of them, but they ſhunned vs not; for they came directly vpon vs; and though we dealt here and there a blow, yet not a man that withſtood them, eſcaped the overthrow. They reckon not of a Musket ſhott, a ſword peirceth not their skinne, and to giue a blow with a ſtaffe, is as to ſmite vpon a ſtone: onely in giving the blow vpon his ſnowt, preſently he falleth downe dead. Of Seales, or Sea-wolues.

After they had recovered the water, they did, as it were, ſcorne vs, defie vs, and daunced before vs, vntill we had ſhot ſome Musket ſhott through them, and ſo they appeared no more.

This Fiſh is like vnto a Calfe, with foure legges, but not aboue a ſpanne long; his skinne is hayrie like a Calfe; but theſe were different to all that ever I haue ſeene, yet I haue ſeene of them in many parts; for theſe were greater, and in their former parts like vnto Lyons, with ſhagge hayre, and moſtaches.

They liue in the Sea, and come to ſleepe on the Land, and they ever haue one that watcheth, who adviſeth them of any accident.

They are beneficiall to man in their skinnes for many purpoſes; In their moſtaches for Pick-tooths, and in their fatt to make Traine-oyle. This may ſuffice for the Seale, for that he is well knowne.

SECT. XXXII.

Deuiſes in ſudden accidents.

ONe day, our Boates being loaden with *Pengwins*, and comming aboord, a ſudden ſtorme tooke them, which together with the fury of the tyde, put them in ſuch great danger, that although they threw all their loading into the Sea, yet were they forced to goe before the wind and Sea, to ſaue their liues. Which we ſeeing, and conſidering that our welfare depended vpon their ſafetie, being impoſſible to weigh our Anchor, faſtned an emptie Barrell well pitched to the end of our Cable, in ſtead of a boy, and letting it ſlip, ſet ſayle to ſuccour our Boates, which in ſhort ſpace wee recouered, and after returned to the place where we ryd before.

The ſtorme ceaſing, we vſed our diligence by all meanes to ſeeke our Cable and Anchor, but the tyde being forcible, and the weeds (as in many partes of the *Straites*) ſo long, that riding in foureteene fathome water, many times they ſtreamed three and foure fathomes vpon the ryme of the water; theſe did ſo inrole our Cable, that we could neuer ſet eye of our boy; and to ſweepe for him was but loſt labour, becauſe of the weeds, which put vs out of hope to recouer it.

And ſo our forcible buſineſſe being ended, leaving inſtructions for the *Fancie* our Pynace, (according to appointment) where to finde vs, we inroled them in many folds of Paper, put them into a barrell of an old Musket, and ſtopped it in ſuch manner as no wett could enter; then placing it anend vpon one of the higheſt hills, and the moſt frequented of all the Iland, wee imbarked our ſelues, and ſet ſayle with the wind at North-weſt, which could ſerue vs but to the end of that reach, ſome dozen leagues long, and ſome three or foure leagues broad. It lyeth next of any thing, till you come to Cape *Agreda*, South-weſt; from this Cape to Cape *Froward*, the coaſt lyeth Weſt South-weſt.

The ſecond peopling of the *Spaniards*.

Some foure leagues betwixt them, was the ſecond peopling of the *Spaniards*: and this Cape lyeth in fiftie fiue degrees and better.

Thwart Cape *Froward*, the wind larged with vs, and we continued our courſe towards the Iland of *Elizabeth*; which lyeth from Cape *Froward* ſome foureteene leagues Weſt and by South. This reach is foure or fiue leagues broad, and in it are many channells or openings into the Sea; for all the land on the Souther part of the *Straites* are Ilands and broken land; and from the beginning of this

this reach to the end of the *Straites*, high mountaynous land on both ſides, in moſt parts covered with ſnow all the yeare long.

Betwixt the Iland *Elizabeth*, and the Mayne, is the narroweſt paſſage of all the *Straites*; it may be ſome two Musket ſhott from ſide to ſide. From this Straite to *Elizabeth* bay, is ſome foure leagues, and the courſe lyeth North-weſt and by weſt.

This bay is all ſandie, and cleane ground on the Eaſter part; but before you come at it, there lyeth a poynt of the ſhore a good byrth off, which is dangerous. And in this reach, as in many parts of the *Straites*, runneth a quicke and forcible tyde. In the Bay it higheth eight or nine foote water. The Norther part of the Bay hath foule ground, and rocks vnder water: and therefore it is not wholſome borrowing of the mayne. One of maſter *Thomas Candiſh* his Pynaces (as I haue beene enformed) came a-ground vpon one of them, and he was in hazard to haue left her there. *Elizabeths Bay.*

From *Elizabeth* Bay to the River of *Ieronimo* is ſome fiue leagues. The courſe lyeth Weſt and by North, and Weſt. Here the Wind ſcanted, and forced vs to ſeeke a place to anchor in. Our Boates going alongſt the ſhore, found a reaſonable Harbour, which is right againſt that which they call, River *Ieronimo*: but it is another channell, by which a man may diſemboake the Straite, as by the other which is accuſtomed; for with a ſtorme, which tooke vs one night, ſuddenly we were forced into that opening vnwittingly; but in the morning, ſeeing our error, and the wind larging, with two or three bourds wee turned out into the old channell, not daring for want of our Pynace to attempt any new diſcoverie. The River of *Ieronimo.*

This Harbour we called *Blanches* Bay; for that it was found by *William Blanch*, one of our Maſters mates. Here having moored our ſhippe, we began to make our proviſion of wood and water, whereof was plentie in this Bay, and in all other places from *Pengwin* Ilands, till within a dozen leagues of the mouth of the Straites. *Blanches Bay.*

Now finding our Deckes open, with the long lying vnder the lyne, and on the coaſt of *Braſill*, the Sunne having beene in our Zenith many times, we calked our ſhip, within board and without, aboue the Decks. And ſuch was the diligence we vſed, that at foure dayes end, we had aboue threeſcore Pipes of water, and twentie Boats of wood ſtowed in our Ship: no man was idle, nor otherwiſe buſied but in neceſſary workes: ſome in felling and cleaving of wood; ſome in carrying of water; ſome in romaging; ſome in waſhing, others in baking; one in heating of pitch, another in gathering of Muſſells; no man was exempted, but knew at evening, whereunto he was to betake himſelfe the morning following.

Obiection of waſt. Some man might aske me, how we came to haue ſo many emptie Caske in leſſe then two moneths; for it ſeemeth much that ſo few men in ſuch ſhort time, and in ſo long a Voyage ſhould waſte ſo much?

Anſwere. Whereto I anſwere, that it came not of exceſſiue expence; for in health we never exceeded our ordinary; but of a miſchance which befell vs vnknowne in the Iland of Saint *Iames*, or Saint *Anne*, in the coaſt of *Braſill*; where we refreſhed our ſelues, and according to the cuſtome layd our Caske a ſhore, to trimme it, and after to fill it, the place being commodious for vs. But with the water a certaine worme, called *Broma* by the *Spaniard*, and by vs *Arters*, entred alſo, which eat it ſo full of holes, that all the water ſoaked out, and made much of our Caske of ſmall vſe. This we remedied the beſt wee could, and diſcovered it long before we came to this place.

Warning againſt wormes. Hereof let others take warning, in no place to haue Caske on the ſhore, where it may be avoyded; for it is one of the proviſions, which are with greateſt care to be preſerved in long Voyages, and hardeſt to be ſupplyed. Theſe *Arters*, or *Broma*, in all hot Countries enter into the plankes of Shippes, and eſpecially where are Rivers of freſh water; (for the common opinion is, that they are bred in freſh water, and with the current of the Rivers are brought into the Sea) but experience teacheth, that they breed in the great Seas in all hott Clymates, eſpecially neere the Equinoctiall lyne; for lying ſo long vnder and neere the lyne, and towing a Shalop at our ſterne, cõming to cleanſe her in *Braſil*, we found her all vnder water covered with theſe wormes, as bigge as the little finger of a man, on the outſide of the planke, not fully covered, but halfe the thicknes of their bodie, like to a gelly wrought into the planke as with a Gowdge. And naturall reaſon (in my iudgement) confirmeth this; for creatures bread and nouriſhed in the Sea, comming into freſh water die; as thoſe actually bred in Ponds, or freſh Rivers die preſently, if they come into Salt water.

But ſome man may ſay, this fayleth in ſome Fiſhes and Beaſts.

Which I muſt confeſſe to be true; but theſe eyther are part terreſtryall, and part aquatile, as the Mare-maide, Sea-horſe, and other of that kind, or haue their breeding in the freſh, and growth or continuall nouriſhment in the Salt water, as the Salmond, and others of that kinde.

Sheathing of Shippes. In little time, if the Shippe be not ſheathed, they put all in hazzard; for they enter in no bigger then a ſmall Spaniſh Needle, and by little and little their holes become ordinarily greater then a mans finger. The thicker the planke is, the greater he groweth;

yea,

yea, I haue ſeene many Shippes ſo eaten, that the moſt of their plankes vnder water haue beene like honey combes, and eſpecially thoſe betwixt wind and water. If they had not beene ſheathed, it had bin impoſſible that they could haue ſwomme. The entring of them is hardly to be diſcerned, the moſt of them being ſmall as the head of a Pinne. Which, all ſuch, as purpoſe long Voyages, are to prevent by ſheathing their Shippes.

And for that I haue ſeene divers manners of ſhearhing, for the ignorant I will ſet them downe which by experience I haue found beſt.

In *Spaine*, and *Portingall*, ſome ſheath their Shippes with Lead; which, beſides the coſt and waight, although they vſe the thinneſt ſheet-lead that I haue ſeene in any place, yet it is nothing durable, but ſubiect to many caſualties. In *Spaine* and *Portingall*,

Another manner is vſed with double plankes, as thicke without as within, after the manner of furring; which is little better then that with Lead; for, beſides his waight, it dureth little, becauſe the worme in ſmall time paſſeth through the one and the other. with double plankes.

A third manner of ſheathing hath beene vſed amongſt ſome with fine Canvas; which is of ſmall continuance, and ſo not to be regarded. With Canvas.

The fourth prevention, which now is moſt accompted of, is to burne the vtter planke till it come to be in every place like a Cole, and after to pitch it; this is not bad. With burnt plankes.

In *China* (as I haue beene enformed) they vſe a certaine Betane or Varniſh, in manner of an artificiall pitch, wherewith they trim the outſide of their ſhippes. It is ſaid to be durable, and of that vertue, as neither worme, nor water peirceth it; neither hath the Sunne power againſt it. In *China* with Varniſh.

Some haue deviſed a certaine Pitch, mingled with Glaſſe, and other ingredients, beaten into powder, with which if the Shippe be pitched, it is ſaid, the worme that toucheth it, dyeth; but I haue not heard, that it hath beene vſefull.

But the moſt approved of all is the manner of ſheathing vſed now adayes in *England*, with thin bourds, halfe inch thicke; the thinner the better; and Elme better then Oake; for it ryveth not, it indureth better vnder water, and yeeldeth better to the Shippes ſide. In *England*,

The invention of the materialles incorporated betwixt the planke and the ſheathing, is that indeed which avayleth; for without it many plankes were not ſufficient to hinder the entrance of this worme; this manner is thus:

Beſt manner of ſheathing.

Before the ſheathing board is nayled on, vpon the inner ſide of it they ſmeare it over with tarre halfe a finger thicke, and vpon the tarre, another halfe finger thicke of hayre, ſuch as the Whitelymers vſe, and ſo nayle it on, the nayles not aboue a ſpanne diſtance one from another; the thicker they are driven, the better.

Some hold opinion, that the tarre killeth the worme; others, that the worme paſſing the ſheathing, and ſeeking a way through, the hayre and the tarre ſo involue him, that he is choked therewith; which me thinkes is moſt probable; this manner of ſheathing was invented by my Father; and experience hath taught it to be the beſt, and of leaſt coſt.

Sect. XXXIII.

SVch was the diligence we vſed for our diſpatch to ſhoot the *Straites*, that at foure dayes end, wee had our water and wood ſtowed in our Shippe, all our Copper-worke finiſhed, and our ſhippe Calked from Poſt to Stemme; the firſt day in the morning (the wind being fayre) we brought our ſelues into the Channell, and ſayled towards the mouth of the *Straites*, praiſing God; and beginning our courſe with little winde, we deſcryed a fire vpon the ſhore, made by the *Indians* for a ſigne to call vs; which ſeene, I cauſed a Boat to be man'de, and we rowed aſhore, to ſee what their meaning was, and approaching neere the ſhore, wee ſaw a Cannoa made faſt vnder a Rocke with a wyth, moſt artificially made with the rindes of Trees, and ſowed together with the ſynnes of Whales; at both ends ſharpe, and turning vp, with a greene bough in either end, and ribbes for ſtrengthening it. After a little while, we might diſcerne on the fall of the mountaine (which was full of trees and ſhrubbes) two or three *Indians* naked, which came out of certaine Caues, or coates. They ſpake vnto vs, and made divers ſignes; now poynting to the Harbour, out of which we were come; and then to the mouth of the *Straites*: But wee vnderſtood nothing of their meaning. Yet left they vs with many imaginations, ſuſpecting, it might be to adviſe vs of our Pynace, or ſome other thing of moment; but for that they were vnder covert, and might worke vs ſome treacherie (for all the people of the *Straites*, and the land nere them, vſe all the villany they can towards white people, taking them for *Spaniards*, in revenge of the deceit

that Nation hath vſed towards them vpon ſundry occaſions:) as alſo for that by our ſtay we could reape nothing but hinderance of our Navigation, wee haſted to our Shippe, and ſayled on our courſe.

From *Blanches* Bay to long reach, which is ſome foure leagues, the courſe lyeth Weſt South-weſt entring into the long reach; which is the laſt of the Straits, and longeſt. For it is ſome thirty two leagues, and the courſe lyeth next of any thing North-weſt. Long Reach.

Before the ſetting of the Sunne, wee had the mouth of the Straits open, and were in great hope the next day to be in the South ſea; but about ſeaven of the clocke that night, wee ſaw a great cloud riſe out of the North-eaſt, which began to caſt forth great flaſhes of lightnings, and ſodainely ſayling with a freſh gale of wind at north-eaſt, another more forcible tooke vs aſtayes; which put vs in danger: for, all our ſayles being a tant, it had like to haue overſet our ſhip, before we could take in our ſayles. And therefore in all ſuch ſemblances it is great wiſedome to carry a ſhort ſayle, or to take in all ſayles.

Heere we found what the *Indians* forwarned vs of; for they haue great inſight in the change of weather, and beſides haue ſecret dealing with the Prince of Darkeneſſe, who many times declareth vnto them things to come; By this meanes and other witch-crafts, which he teacheth them, hee poſſeſſeth them, and cauſeth them to doe what pleaſeth him. Note.

Within halfe an houre it began to thunder and raine, with ſo much winde as wee were forced to lye a hull, and ſo darke, that we ſaw nothing, but when the lightning came. This being one of the narroweſt reaches of all the Straits, wee were forced, every glaſſe, to open a little of our fore-ſayle, to caſt about our ſhips head: any man may conceiue if the night ſeemed long vnto vs, what deſire we had to ſee the day. In fine, Phœbus with his beautifull face lightned our Hemiſphere, and reioyced our hearts (hauing driven aboue twenty foure leagues in twelue houres lying a hull: whereby, is to be imagined the force of the winde and current.)

We ſet our fore-ſayle, and returned to our former harbour; from whence, within three or foure dayes, we ſet ſayle againe with a faire winde, which continued with vs till we came within a league of the mouth of the Straite, here the winde tooke vs againe contrary, and forced vs to returne againe to our former port; where being ready to anchor, the winde ſcanted with vs in ſuch maner, as wee were forced to make a bourd. In which time, the winde and tide put vs ſo farre to lee-wards, that we could by no meanes ſeize it: So we determined

termined to goe to *Elizabeth* Bay, but before we came at it, the night overtooke vs: and this reach being dangerous and narrow, we durſt neither hull, nor trye, or turne to and againe with a ſhort ſayle, and therefore bare alongſt in the middeſt of the channell, till we were come into the broad reach, then lay a hull till the morning.

When we ſet ſayle and ran alongſt the coaſt, ſeeking with our boate ſome place to anchor in; ſome foure leagues to the Weſtwards of Cape *Froward*, we found a goodly bay; which wee named *Engliſh* bay: where anchored, we preſently went a ſhore, and found a goodly River of freſh water, and an old Cannoa broken to peeces, and ſome two or three of the houſes of the *Indians*, with peeces of Seale ſtinking ripe. Theſe houſes are made in faſhion of an Oven ſeven or eight foote broad, with boughes of trees, and covered with other boughes, as our Summer houſes; and doubtles do ſerve them but for the Summer time, when they come to fiſh, and profit themſelues of the Sea. For they retyre themſelues in the Winter into the Country, where it is more temperate, and yeeldeth better ſuſtenance: for on the Mayne of the Straits, wee neyther ſaw beaſt, nor fowle, Sea fowle excepted, and a kind of Blacke-bird, and two hoggs towards the beginning of the Straites.

Engliſh Bay.

Here our ſhip being well moored, we began to ſupply our wood and water, that we had ſpent. Which being a dayes worke, and the winde during many dayes contrary, I endevoured to keepe my people occupied, to divert them from the imagination which ſome had conceived; that it behooved, we ſhould returne to *Braſill* and winter there, and ſo ſhoot the Straites in the ſpring of the yeare.

Sloth cauſe of imagination.

So one day, we rowed vp the River, with our boat and light horſeman, to diſcover it, and the In-land: where having ſpent a good part of the day, and finding ſhold water, and many Trees fallen thwart it, and little fruite of our labour, nor any thing worth the noting, we returned.

Another day, we trayned our people a-ſhore, being a goodly ſandie Bay: another, we had a hurling of Batchelers againſt married men; This day we were buſied in wreſtling, the other in ſhooting; ſo we were never idle, neyther thought we the time long.

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Sect. XXXIIII.

AFter we had paſt here ſome ſeven or eight dayes, one Evening with a flawe from the ſhore, our Ship droue off into the channell, and before we could get vp our Anchor, and ſet our ſayles, we were driven ſo farre to lee-wards, that we could not recover into the bay; and night comming on, with a ſhort ſayle, wee beate off and on till the morning. At the breake of the day conferring with the Captaine and Maſter of my ſhip, what was beſt to be done, we reſolved to ſeeke out *Tobias Coue*, which lyeth over againſt Cape *Frye*, on the Southerne part of the Straites, becauſe in all the reaches of the Straites (for the moſt part) the winde bloweth trade, and therfore little profit to be made by turning to winde-wards. And from the Ilands of the *Pengwins* to the ende of the Straites towards the ſouth Sea, there is no anchoring in the channell; and if we ſhould be put to lee-wards of this Coue, we had no ſuccour till we came to the Ilands of *Pengwins*; and ſome of our Company which had bin with maſter *Thomas Candiſh* in the Voyage in which he died, and in the ſame Coue many weekes, vndertooke to be our Pilots thither. Whereupon we bare vp, being ſome two leagues thither, having ſo much winde as we could ſcarce lye by it with our courſe and bonnet of each; but bearing vp before the winde, wee put out our Topſayles and Spritſayle, and within a little while the winde began to fayle vs, and immediately our Shippe gaue a mightie blow vpon a Rocke, and ſtucke faſt vpon it. And had wee had but the fourth part of the wind, which we had in all the night paſt, but a moment before we ſtrucke the Rocke, our Shippe, doubtleſſe, with the blow had broken her ſelfe all to peeces. But our prouident and moſt gracious God which commaundeth wind and Sea, watched over vs, and delivered vs with his powerfull hand from the vnknowne danger and hidden deſtruction, that ſo we might prayſe him for his fatherly bountie and protection, and with the Prophet *David* ſay, *Except the Lord keepe the Cittie, the watch-men watch in vaine*; for if our God had not kept our Shippe, we had bin all ſwallowed vp alive without helpe or redemption, and therefore he for his mercies ſake grant that the memoriall of his benefits, doe never depart from before our eyes, and that we may evermore prayſe him for our wonderfull deliverance, and his continuall providence by day and by night.

Tobias Coue.

Seeing of the Ship vpon a Rocke.

The company dismayed.

My company with this Accident were much amazed, and not without iust cause. Immediately we vsed our endevour to free our selues, and with our Boates sounded round about our Shippe; in the meane time assaying our pumpe, to know if our Shippe made more water then her ordinary; we found nothing increased, and round about our Shippe deepe water, saving vnder the mid-shippe, for there was a floote a head and asterne, and bearing some fathome before the mayne Maste, and in no other part, was like to be our destruction; for being ebbing water, the waight in the head and sterne by sayling of the water began to open her plankes in the middest; and vpon the vpper Decke they were gone one from another some two fingers, some more; which we sought to ease and remedie by lightning of her burden, and throwing into the Sea all that came to hand; and laying out an Anchor, we sought to wend her off: and such was the wind and force we put to the Capsten and Tackles fastned vpon the Cable, that we plucked the ring of the Anchor out of the eye, but after recovered it, though not serviceable.

Diligence to free it.

To the laborious God propitious,

All our labour was fruitlesse, till God was pleased that the flood came, and then we had her off with great ioy and comfort, when finding the current favourable with vs, we stood over to *English bay*, and seeching it, we anchored there, having beene some three houres vpon the Rocke, and with the blow, as after we saw when our Ship was brought a ground in *Perico* (which is the Port of *Panama*) a great part of her sheathing was beaten off on both sides in her Bulges, and some foure foote long and a foote square of her false stemme, ioyning to the Keele, twisted acrosse, like vnto a Hogges yoake, which hindered her sayling very much.

and therefore praysed.

Here we gaue God prayse for our deliverance, and afterward procured to supply our wood and water, which we had throwne overbourd to ease our Shippe, which was not much: that supplyed, it pleased God (who is not ever angry) to looke vpon vs with comfort, and to send vs a fayre and large wind, and so we set Sayle once againe, in hope to dismboke the *Straite*, but some dozen leagues before we came to the mouth of it, the wind changed, and forced vs to seeke out some Cove or Bay, with our Boates to ride in neere at hand, that we might not be forced to returne farre backe into the *Straites*.

Crabby Cove.

They sounded a Cove some sixteene leagues from the mouth of the *Straite*, which after we called *Crabby Cove*. It brooked his name well for two causes; the one for that all the water was full of a small kinde of redd Crabbes, the other, for the crabbed mountaines which over-topped it; a third, we might adde, for the crabbed en-

tainement it gaue vs. In this Cove we anchored, but the wind freſhning in, and three or foure hilles over-topping (like Sugar-loaues) altered and ſtraightned the paſſage of the wind in ſuch manner, as forced it downe with ſuch violence in flaws and furious bluſterings, as was like to over-ſet our Shippe at an Anchor, and cauſed her to driue, and vs to weigh; but before we could weigh it, ſhee was ſo neere the Rockes, and the puffes and guſts of wind ſo ſodaine and vncertaine, ſometimes ſcant, ſometimes large, that it forced vs to cut our Cable, and yet dangerous if our Shippe did not caſt the right way. Here neceſſitie, not being ſubiect to any law, forced vs to put our ſelues into the hands of him that was able to deliver vs. We cut our Cable and Sayle all in one inſtant; And God to ſhew his power and gratious bountie towardes vs, was pleaſed that our Shippe caſt the contrary way towards the ſhore, ſeeming that he with his owne hand did wend her about; for in leſſe then her length, ſhee flatted, and in all the Voyage but at that inſtant, ſhee flatted with difficultie, for that ſhee was long, the worſt propertie ſhee had. On either ſide we might ſee the Rockes vnder vs, and were not halfe a Shippes length from the ſhore, and if ſhe had once touched, it had beene impoſſible to haue eſcaped.

Magnified ever be our Lord God, which delivered *Ionas* out of the Whales belly; and his Apoſtle *Peter* from being overwhelmed in the waues; and vs from ſo certaine periſhing.

SECT. XXXV.

FRom hence we returned to *Blanches* Bay, and there Anchored, expecting Gods good will and pleaſure.

Here beganne the bitternesſe of the time to increaſe with bluſtering and ſharpe winds, accompanied with rayne and fleeting Snow, and my people to be diſmayde againe, in manifeſting a deſire to returne to *Braſill*, which I would never conſent vnto, no, nor ſo much as to heare of.

And all men are to take care, that they goe not one foote backe, more then is of mere force; for I haue not ſeene, that any who haue yeelded therevnto, but preſently they haue returned home. As in the Voyage of maſter *Edward Fenton*, which the Earle of *Cumberland* ſet forth, to his great charge. As alſo in that of maſter *Thomas Candiſh*, in which he dyed: Both which pretended to ſhoote the *Straites* of *Magelan*, and by perſwaſion of ſome ignorant perſons, being

Voyages overthrowne by pretences.

Edward Fenton and maſter *Thomas Candiſh.*

being in good possibilitie, were brought to consent to returne to *Brasil*, to Winter, and after in the Spring to attempt the passing of the *Strait* againe. None of them made any abode in *Brasil*; for presently as soone as they looked homeward, one, with a little blustering wind taketh occasion to loose company; another complaineth that he wanteth victuals; another, that his shippe is leake; another, that his maste, sayles, or cordidge sayleth him. So the willing never want probable reasons to further their pretences. As I saw once (being but young, and more bold then experimented) in Anno 1582. in a Voyage, vnder the charge of my Vnkle *William Hawkins* of *Plimouth*, Esquire, in the *Indies*, at the wester end of the Iland of *San Iuan de Portorico*. One of the Shippes (called the *Barke bonner*) being somewhat leake, the Captaine complained that she was not able to endure to *England*; whereupon a Counsell was called, and his reasons heard, and allowed. So it was concluded, that the Victuall, Munition, and what was serviceable, should be taken out of her, and her men devided amongst our other Shippes; the Hull remaining to be sunke, or burned.

Master *William Hawkins.*

To which, I never spake word till I saw it resolved; being my part rather to learne, then to advise. But seeing the fatall sentence given, and suspecting that the Captaine made the matter worse then it was, rather vpon pollicy to come into another Ship, which was better of Sayle, then for any danger they might runne into. With as much reason as my capacitie could reach vnto, I diswaded my Vnkle privately; And vrged, that seeing wee had profited the Adventurers nothing, wee should endevour to preserue our principall; especially, having men and victualls. But seeing I prevayled not, I went further, and offered to finde out in the same Shippe, and others, so many men, as with me would be content to carry her home, giving vs the third part of the value of the ship, as shee should be valued at, at her returne, by foure indifferent persons; and to leaue the Vice-admirall, which I had vnder my charge, and to make her Vice-admirall.

Whereupon, it was condescended, that we should all goe aboard the Shippe, and that there it should be determined. The Captaine thought himselfe somewhat touched in Reputation, and so would not that further triall should be made of the matter; Saying, that if another man was able to carry the Shippe into *England*, he would in no case leaue her; neither would he forsake her till shee sunke vnder him.

The Generall commended him for his resolution, and thanked me for my offer, tending to the generall good; my intention being

to force thoſe who for gaine could vnder-take to carry her home, ſhould alſo doe it, gratis, according to their Obligation. Thus, this leake-ſhip went well into *England*; where, after ſhee made many a good Voyage in nine yeares, wherein ſhee was imployed to and fro; and no doubt, would haue ſerved many more, had ſhee not beene laid vp, and not vſed, falling into the hands of thoſe which knew not the vſe of Shipping. It were large to recount the Voyages, and worthy Enterpriſes, overthrowne by this pollicie, with the Shippes which haue thereby gone to wracke.

SECT. XXXVI.

BY this and the like experiences, remembring and knowing, that, if once I conſented to turne but one foote backe, I ſhould overthrow my Voyage, and looſe my reputation, I reſolved rather to looſe my life, then to giue eare to ſuch preiudiciall Counſell; And ſo as the Weather gaue leaue, we intertained our ſelues the firſt dayes in neceſſary workes, and after in making of Coale, (for Wood was plentifull, and no man would commence an action of waſt againſt vs) with intent (the wind continuing long contrary) to ſee, if wee could remedie any of our broken Anchors; a Forge I had in my Shippe, and of fiue Anchors which we brought out of *England*, there remained but one that was ſerviceable. Danger to hearken vnto reaſons of return.

In the Ilands of *Pengwins*, we loſt one; in *Crabbie Cove*, another; of a third, vpon another occaſion, we broke an arme; & the fourth, on the Rocke had the eye of his ring broken. This (one day deviſing with my ſelfe) I made to ſerue, without working him a new. Which when I tooke firſt in hand, all men thought it ridiculous: but in fine, we made it in that manner ſo ſerviceable, as till our ſhip came to *Callaw*, which is the Port of *Lyma*, ſhee ſcarce vſed any other Anchor; and when I came from *Lyma* to *Panama*, which was three yeares after, I ſaw it ſerue the Admirall in which I came, (a Ship of aboue fiue hundreth tunnes) without other art or addition, then what my owne invention contrived.

And for that in the like neceſſitie, or occaſion, others may profit themſelues of the induſtrie, I will recount the manner of the forging our eye without fire, or iron. It was in this ſort. The mending of an vnſerviceable Anchor.

From the eye of the ſhanke, about the head of the croſſe, we gaue two turnes with a new ſtrong Halſer, betwixt three and foure inches,

ches, giving a reasonable allowance for that, which should be the eye, and served in stead of the ring; then we fastned the two ends of the Halser, so as in that part it was as strong, as in any other, and with our Capsten stretched the two byghtes, that every part might beare proportionably; then armed we all the Halser round about, with six yarne Synnets, and likewise the shanke of the Anchor, and the head with a smooth Matt made of the same Synnet: this done, with an inch Rope, wee woolled the two byghtes to the shanke, from the crosse to the eye, and that also which was to serue for the ring, and fitted the stocke accordingly. This done, those who before derided the invention, were of opinion, that it would serue for a need; onely they put one difficultie, that with the fall or pitch of the Anchor in hard ground, with his waight he would cut the Halser in sunder on the head; for prevention whereof, we placed a panch (as the Marriners terme it) vpon the head of the Anchor, with whose softnesse this danger was prevented, and the Anchor past for serviceable.

Entertainement of time, to avoyd idlenesse,

Some of our idle time we spent in gathering the barke and fruit of a certaine tree, which we found in all places of the *Straites*, where we found trees. This tree carrieth his fruit in clusters like a Hawthorne, but that it is greene, each berry of the bignesse of a Pepper corne, and every of them containing within foure or five graynes, twise as bigge as a Musterd-seed, which broken, are white within, as the good Pepper, and bite much like it, but hotter. The barke of this tree, hath the savour of all kinde of Spices together, most comfortable to the stomacke, and held to be better then any Spice whatsoever; And for that a learned Country-man of ours Doctor *Turner*, hath written of it, by the name of *Winters barke*, what I haue said may suffice. The leafe of this tree is of a whitish greene, and is not vnlike to the Aspen leafe.

In gathering of *Winters Barke*.

Other whiles we entertained our selues in gathering of Pearles out of Mussels, whereof there are aboundance in all places, from Cape *Froward*, to the end of the *Straites*.

Of Pearles.

The Pearles are but of a bad colour, and small, but it may be that in the great Mussels in deeper water, the Pearles are bigger, and of greater value; of the small seed Pearle, there was great quantitie, and the Mussels were a great refreshing vnto vs; for they were exceeding good, and in great plentie. And here let me craue pardon if I erre, seeing I disclaime from being a naturalist, by delivering my opinion touching the breeding of these Pearles, which I thinke to be of a farre different nature and qualitie to those found in the East and West *Indies*, which are found in Oysters, growing in the shell

ſhell, vnder the ruff of the Oyſter, ſome ſay of the dewe, which I hold to be ſome old Philoſophers conceit, for that it cannot bee made probable, how the dew ſhould come into the Oyſter; and if this were true, then, queſtionleſſe, wee ſhould haue them in our Oyſters, as in thoſe of the Eaſt and Weſt *India's*; but thoſe Oyſters, were, by the Creator, made to bring foorth this rare fruite, all their ſhels, being (to looke to) pearle it ſelfe. And the other pearles found in our Oyſters and Muſſels, in divers partes, are ingendred out of the fatneſſe of the fiſh, in the very ſubſtance of the fiſh, ſo that in ſome Muſſels, haue beene found twenty, and thirty, in ſeverall partes of the fiſh, and theſe not perfect in colour, nor clearenes, as thoſe found in the Pearle-Oyſters, which are ever perfect in colour and clearenes, like the Sunne in his riſing; and therefore called Orientall, and not (as is ſuppoſed) becauſe out of the Eaſt, for they are as well found in the Weſt, and no way inferior to thoſe of the Eaſt *Indies*.

Other fiſh, beſides Seales, and Crabbes, like Shrimpes, and one Whale with two or three Porpuſſes, wee ſaw not in all the *Straites*; heere we made alſo a ſurvay of our victuals; and opening certaine Barrels of Oaten meale, wee found a great part of ſome of them, as alſo of our Pipes and Patts of bread, eaten and conſumed by the Ratts; doubteleſſe, a fift part of my Company, did not eate ſo much, as theſe devoured, as wee found dayly in comming to ſpend any of our proviſions.

Prevention of Rats.

When I came to the Sea, it was not ſupected, that I had a Ratt in my ſhippe; but with the bread in Caske, which we tranſported out of the *Hawke*, and the going to and againe of our boates vnto our priſe, (though wee had divers Catts and vſed other preventions) in a ſmall time they multiplyed in ſuch a maner, as is incredible; It is one of the generall calamities of all long voyages; and would bee carefully prevented, as much as may bee. For beſides that which they conſume of the beſt victuals, they eate the ſayles; and neither packe, nor cheſt, is free from their ſurpriſes. I haue knowne them to make a hole in a pipe of water; and ſaying the pumpe, haue put all in feare, doubting leaſt ſome leake had beene ſprung vpon the ſhip.

The Calamities they bring to a ſhip.

Moreover, I haue heard credible perſons report, that ſhippes haue beene put in danger by them to be ſunke, by a hole made in the bulge. All which is eaſily remedied at the firſt, but if once they be ſomewhat increaſed, with difficulty they are to be deſtroyed. And although I propounded a reward for every Ratt which was taken, and ſought meanes by poyſon, and other inventions

to consume them, yet their increase being so ordinary and many: wee were not able to cleare our selues from them.

SECT. XXXVII.

AT the ende of fourteene dayes, one Evening being calme, and a goodly cleare in the Easter-boord, I willed our Anchor to be weyed, and determined to goe into the channell, whereof ensued a murmuring amongst my company, who were desirous to see the winde setled before we put out of the Harbour: and in part they had reason, considering how wee had beene canvased from place to place; yet on the other side, if wee went not out before night, wee should loose the whole nights sayling, and all the time which we should spend in warping out; which would be, doubtles, a great part of the fore-noone. And although the Master signified vnto mee, the disposition of my people, and Master *Henry Courton* (a discreete and vertuous Gentleman, and my good friend, who in all the voyage was ever an especial furtherer of all that ever I ordained or proposed) in this occasion sought to divert me, that all but my selfe, were contrarily inclined to that, which I thought fit: and though the common saying be, that it is better to erre with many, then all contradicting, alone to hit the right way, yet truth told mee, this proverbe to bee falsely founded; for that it was not to bee vnderstood, that for erring it is better, but because it is supposed that by hitting a man shall get emulation of the contradictors, I encountered it with another, that sayth, better to be envied then pitied, and well considering, that (being out of the Harbour, if the winde tooke vs contrary) to goe to *Elizabeth* Bay was better then to bee in the Port, (for a man must of force warpe in and out of it) and in the time that the Shippe could be brought foorth into the Channell (the winde being good) a man might come from *Elizabeth* Bay to the Port, and that there we should haue the wind first, being more to the East-wardes, and in an open Bay, and moreover might set sayle in the night, if the wind should rise in the Evening, or in the Night; whereas, in the Port, of force, we must waite the light of the Day. I made my selfe deafe to all murmurings, and caused my commaund to be put in execution, and, doubtlesse, it was Gods gracious inspiration, as by the event was seene; for being gotten into the Channell, within an houre, the

Backwardnes in the Companie,

and the consequences thereof,

the winde came good, and we ſayled merrily on our Voyage; and by the breake of the day, wee had the mouth of the Straites open, and about foure of the Clocke in the afternoone, wee were thwart of Cape *Deſire*; which is the weſtermoſt part of the Land on the Souther ſide of the Straites.

SECT. XXXVIII.

HEre ſuch as haue command may behold the many miſeries that befall them, not onely by vnexpected Accidents and miſchances, but alſo by contradictions and murmurs of their owne people, of all calamities the greateſt which can befall a man of diſcretion and valour, and as difficult to be overcome; for, to require reaſon of the common ſort, is, as the Philoſopher ſayth, To ſeeke Counſell of a madd man. Herein, as I ſayd before, they reſemble a ſtiffe necked Horſe, who taking the bridle in his teeth, carrieth the rider whether he pleaſeth; ſo once poſſeſſed with any imagination, no reaſon is able to convince them. The beſt remedie I can propound, is to wiſh our Nation in this poynt to be well adviſed, and in eſpeciall, all thoſe that follow the Sea, ever having before their eyes the auncient Diſcipline of our Predeceſſors; who in conformitie and obedience to their Chiefes and Commanders, haue beene a mirror to all other Nations, with patience, ſilence, and ſuffering, putting in execution what they haue beene Commanded, and thereby gained the bleſſings due to ſuch vertues, and leaving to poſteritie, perpetuall memories of their glorious Victories. A iuſt recompence for all ſuch as Conquer themſelues, and ſubiect their moſt ſpecious willes, to the will of their Supriors.

Advertiſements for Commanders.

The advantage of obedience.

SECT. XXXIX.

IN apprehenſion whereof at land, I cannot forbeare the Diſcipline thereof, as at this day, and in the dayes of late memory, it hath beene practiſed in the States of *Flaunders*, *Fraunce*, and *Brittayne*, where as the *Spaniards*, *Wallons*, *Switzers*, and other Nations, are daily full of murmurings and mutenies, vpon every ſleight occaſion.

The like I alſo wiſh ſhould be imitated by thoſe, who follow the Sea, that is, that thoſe who are ſubiect to Command, preſume no further then to that which belongeth vnto them; *Qui neſcit parere, neſcit imperare*, I ſpeake this, for that I haue ſometimes ſeene vnexpert and ignorant perſons, yea, vnable to iudge of any poynt appertaining to gouernment, or the guide of a Shippe, or company of men, preſuming vpon their fine witts, and enamored of their owne conceits, contradict and diſpute againſt graue, wiſe, and experimented Gouernours: many forward fellowes, thinking themſelues better worthie to command, then to be commanded. Such perſons I aduiſe not to goe, but where they may command; or els looking before they leape, to conſider well, vnder whom they place themſelues, ſeeing (for the moſt part) it is in their choyce, to chooſe a Gouernour from whom they may expect ſatisfaction; but choyce being once made, to reſolue with the patient wife in Hiſtory; That, that day wherein ſhee married her ſelfe to an husband, that very day ſhee had no longer any will, more then the will of her husband. And ſo he that by Sea or Land placeth himſelfe to ſerue in any action, muſt make reckoning that the time the iourney endureth, he hath no other will, nor diſpoſe of himſelfe, then that of his Commander: for in the Gouernour, hand is all power, to recompence and reward, to puniſh or forgiue.

Aduertiſements for yong Seruitors.

Likewiſe thoſe who haue charge and Command, muſt ſometimes with patience or ſufferance, ouercome their fury and miſconceits, according to occaſions; for it is a great poynt of wiſedome, eſpecially in a generall murmuring, where the cauſe is iuſt, or that (as often times it happeneth) any probable accident may divert the minds of the diſcontented, and giue hope of remedie, or future event may produce Repentance, to turne (as they ſay) the deafe eare, and to winke at that a man ſeeth. As it is ſayd of *Charles* the fifth Emperour of *Germany*, and King of *Spaine*, who

rounding

rounding his Campe, one night, diſguiſed, heard ſome Souldiers rayle, and ſpeake evill of him; thoſe which accompanied him were of opinion, that he ſhould vſe ſome exemplary puniſhment vpon them; not ſo, ſayth he, for theſe now vexed with the miſeries they ſuffer, eaſe their hearts with their tongues; but if occaſion preſent it ſelfe, they will not ſticke to ſacrifice their liues for my ſafetie. A reſolution worthy ſo prudent a Commander, and ſo magnanimous a Prince.

The like is written of *Fabius Maximus*, the famous *Romayne*, who endured the attribute of Coward, with many other infamies, rather then he would hazard the ſafetie of his Countrie by raſh and incertaine provocations.

The patience of the Earle of *Nottingham.*

No leſſe worthy of perpetuall memory was the prudent pollicie and government of our Engliſh Navie, in Anno 1588. by the worthy Earle of *Nottingham*, Lord high Admirall of *England*; who, in like caſe, with mature and experimented knowledge, patiently withſtood the inſtigations of many Couragious and Noble Captaines, who would haue perſwaded him to haue laid them aboord; but well he foreſaw that the enemy had an Armie aboord; he none; that they exceeded him in number of Shipping, and thoſe greater in Bulke, ſtronger built, and higher molded, ſo that they who with ſuch advantage fought from aboue, might eaſily diſtreſſe all oppoſition below; the ſlaughter peradventure prooving more fatall, then the victory profitable; by being overthrowne he might haue hazzarded the Kingdome, whereas by the Conqueſt (at moſt) he could haue boaſted of nothing but Glorie, and an enemie defeated. But by ſufferance, he alwayes advantaged himſelfe of winde and tide; which was the freedome of our Countrey, and ſecuritie of our Navie, with the deſtruction of theirs, which in the eye of the ignorant, (who iudge all things by the externall appearance) ſeemed invincible; but truely conſidered, was much inferior to ours, in all things of ſubſtance, as the event prooved; for we ſunke, ſpoyled, and tooke of them many, and they diminiſhed of ours but one ſmall Pynace, nor any man of name, ſaue onely Captaine *Cocke*, who dyed with honour amidſt his Company. The greateſt dammage, that (as I remember) they cauſed to any of our Shippes, was to the *Swallow* of her Maieſtie, which I had in that action vnder my Charge, with an Arrow of fire ſhott into her Beake-head, which we ſaw not, becauſe of the ſayle, till it had burned a hole in the Roſe as bigge as a mans head: the Arrow falling out, and driving alongſt by the Shippes ſide, made vs doubt of it, which after we diſcovered.

SECT. XL.

Mutenies not alwayes to be winked at.

IN many occasions, notwithstanding, it is most preiudiciall to dissemble the reprehension and punishment of murmurings and mutterings, when they carry a likelihood to grow to a mutenie, seeme to leane to a faction, or that a person of regard or merite favoureth the intention, or contradicteth the Iustice, &c. and others of like qualitie; The prudent Governour is to cut off this *Hydra's* head in the beginning, and by prevention to provide remedie with expedition; and this sometimes with absolute authoritie, although the best be ever to proceed by Counsell, if necessitie and occasion require not the contrary; for passion many times over-ruleth, but that which is sentenced and executed by consent, is iustified, although sometimes erronious. *March.* 29. 1594.

(***)

SECT.

SECT. XLI.

FRom Cape *Deſire*, ſome foure leagues North-weſt, lye foure Ilands, which are very ſmall, and the middlemoſt of them is of the faſhion of a Sugar-loafe. We were no ſooner cleare of Cape *Deſire*, and his ledge of Rockes (which lie a great way off into the Sea) but the wind tooke vs contrary by the North-weſt; and ſo we ſtood off into the Sea two dayes and two nights to the Weſtwards.

In all the Straites it ebbeth and floweth more or leſſe, and in many places it higheth very little water, but in ſome Bayes, where are great indraughts, it higheth eight or ten foote, and doubtleſſe, further in, more. If a man be furniſhed with wood and water, and the winde good, he may keepe the mayne Sea, and goe round about the Straites to the Southwards, and it is the ſhorter way; for beſides the experience which we made, that all the South part of the Straites is but Ilands, many times having the Sea open, I remember, that Sir *Francis Drake* told me, that having ſhott the Straites, a ſtorme tooke him firſt at North-weſt, and after vered about to the South-weſt, which continued with him many dayes, with that extremitie, that he could not open any Sayle, and that at the end of the ſtorme, he found himſelfe in fiftie degrees, which was ſufficient teſtimony and proofe, that he was beaten round about the Straites, for the leaſt height of the Straites is in fiftie two degrees and fiftie minutes; in which ſtand the two entrances or mouths.

South part of the Straites Ilands.

And moreover, he ſayd, that ſtanding about, when the winde changed, he was not well able to double the Southermoſt Iland, and ſo anchored vnder the lee of it; and going a-ſhore, carried a Compaſſe with him, and ſeeking out the Southermoſt part of the Iland, caſt himſelfe downe vpon the vttermoſt poynt groveling, and ſo reached out his bodie over it. Preſently he imbarked, and then recounted vnto his people, that he had beene vpon the Southermoſt knowne land in the world, and more further to the Southwards vpon it, then any of them, yea, or any man as yet knowne. Theſe teſtimonies may ſuffice for this truth vnto all, but ſuch as are incredulous, & will beleeue nothing but what they ſee; for my part, I am of opinion, that the Straite is navigable all the yeare long, although the beſt time be in *November*, *December*, and *January*, and then

Sir *Francis Drake* imbraceth the Southermoſt point of the world.

then the winds more favourable, which other times are variable, as in all narrow Seas.

Being some fiftie leagues a Sea-boord the Straites, the winde vering to the West-wards, we cast about to the North-wards; and lying the coast along, shaped our course for the Iland *Mocha*. About the fifteenth of Aprill, we were thwart of *Baldivia*, which was then in the hands of the *Spaniards*, but since the *Indians*, in Anno 1599. dispossessed them of it, and the *Conception*; which are two of the most principall places they had in that Kingdome, and both Ports.

Mocha.

Baldivia.

Baldivia, had its name of a Spanish Captaine so called, whom afterwards the *Indians* tooke Prisoner, and it is said, they required of him the reason why he came to molest them, and to take their Country from them, having no title nor right thereunto; he answered, to get Gold; which the barbarous understanding, caused Gold to be molten, and powred downe his throat; saying, Gold was thy desire, glut thee with it.

It standeth in fortie degrees, hath a pleasant River and navigable; for a Ship of good burden may goe as high vp as the Cittie, and is a goodly wood Country.

Here our Beefe beganne to take end, and was then as good, as the day wee departed from *England*; it was preserved in Pickell, which, though it be more chargeable, yet the profit payeth the charge, in that it is made durable, contrary to the opinion of many, which hold it impossible, that Beefe should be kept good passing the Equinoctiall lyne. And of our Porke I eate in the house of *Don Beltran de Castro*, in *Lyma*, neere foure yeares old, very good, preserved after the same manner, notwithstanding, it had lost his Pickle long before.

Some degrees before a man come to *Baldivia* to the South-wards, as *Spaniards* haue told me, lyeth the Iland *Chule*, not easily to be discerned from the mayne; for he that passeth by it, cannot but thinke it to be the mayne. It is said to be inhabited by the *Spaniards*, but badly, yet rich of gold.

The 19. of Aprill, being Easter-euen, we anchored vnder the Iland *Mocha*. It lyeth in 39. degrees, it may be some foure leagues over, and is a high mountainous hill, but round about the foote thereof, some halfe league from the Sea-shore, it is Champion ground, well inhabited, and manured.

From the Straites to this Iland, we found, that either the coast is set our more westerly then it is, or that, we had a great current, which put vs to the west-wards; for we had not sight of land in

three

three dayes after. Our reckoning was to ſee it, but for that we coaſted not the land, I cannot determine, whether it was cauſed by the current, or lying of the land. But *Spaniards* which haue ſayled alongſt it, haue told me, that it is a bold and ſafe coaſt, and reaſonable ſounding of it.

In this Iland of *Mocha* we had communication and contratation with the inhabitants, but with great vigilancie and care; for they and all the people of *Chily*, are mortall enemies to the *Spaniards*, and held vs to be of them; and ſo eſteemed Sir *Francis Drake*, when he was in this Iland, which was the firſt land alſo that he touched on this coaſt. They vſed him with ſo fine a trechery, that they poſſeſſed themſelues of all the Oares in his Boate, ſaving two, and in ſtriving to get them alſo, they ſlew, and hurt all his men; himſelfe who had fewceſt wounds, had three, and two of them in the head. Two of his company which lived long after, had, the one ſeaventeene; his name was *Iohn Bruer*, who afterward was Pilot with maſter *Candiſh*; and the other, aboue twentie, a *Negro*-ſervant to Sir *Francis Drake*.

And with me they vſed a pollicie, which amongſt barbarous people was not to be imagined, although I wrought ſure; for I ſuffered none to treate with me, nor with my people with Armes. We were armed, and met vpon a Rocke compaſſed with water, whether they came to parley and negotiate. Being in communication with the *Caſiques*, and others, many of the *Indians* came to the heads of our Boats, and ſome went into them. Certaine of my people ſtanding to defend the Boates with their Oares, for that there went a bad ſege, were forced to lay downe their Musketts; which the *Indians* perceiving, endevoured to fill the barrells with water, taking it out of the ſea in the hollow of their hands. By chance caſting mine eye aſide, I diſcovered their ſlyneſſe; and with a truncheon, which I had in mine hand, gaue the *Indians* three or foure good lamskinnes; the *Caſiques* ſeeing it, began to giue me ſatisfaction, by vſing rigor towardes thoſe which had beene in the Boates; but I having gotten the refreſhing I deſired, and all I could hope from them, would haue no further converſation with them. At our firſt comming, two of their *Caſiques* (who are their Lords or Kings) came aboord our Shippe (we leaving one of our companie aſhore as a pledge) whom we feaſted in good manner; they eat well of all that was ſet before them, and dranke better of our Wine: one of them became a little giddie headed, and marvayled much at our Artillery: I cauſed a Peece to be primed, and after to be ſhott off, whereat the one ſtarted, but the other made no ſhew of alteration;

Trechery of the *Indians*.

after putting them ashore, loaden with toyes and trifles, which to them seemed great riches; from all Ports of the Iland, the people came vnto vs, bringing all such things as they had, to wit, sheepe, Cockes, &c. (from Hennes they would not part) and divers sorts of fruits, and rootes, which they exchanged with vs for Knives, Glasses, Combes, Belles, Beades, Counters, Pinnes, and other trifles. We saw little demonstration of Gold or Silver amongst them, though some they had; and for that we saw they made estimation of it, we would not make reckoning of it: but they gaue vs to vnderstand, that they had it from the Mayne.

Exchanges of trifles.

Of Sheepe.

The sheepe of this Iland are great, good, and fatt; I haue not tasted better Mutton any where. They were as ours, and doubtlesse of the breed of those, which the *Spaniards* brought into the Country. Of the sheepe of the Country, we could by no meanes procure any one, although we saw of them, and vsed meanes to haue had of them; for they esteeme them much, as reason willeth, serving them for many vses; as in another place, God willing, I shall declare more at large. They haue small store of fish.

This Iland is scituate in the Province of *Arawca*, and is held to be peopled with the most valiant Nation in all *Chily*, though generally the Inhabitants of that Kingdome are very couragious.

Their apparell,

They are clothed after the manner of antiquitie, all of woollen; their Cassockes made like a Sacke, square, with two holes for the two armes, and one for the head; all open below, without lining or other art: but of them, some are most curiously wooven, and in colours, and on both sides alike.

and housing.

Their houses are made round, in fashion like vnto our Pigeon houses, with a laver in the toppe, to evacuate the smoake when they make fire.

They brought vs a strange kinde of Tobacco, made into little cakes, like Pitch, of a bad smell, with holes through the middle, and so laced many vpon a string. They presented vs also with two Spanish Letters, thinking vs to be *Spaniards*, which were written by a Captaine of a Frigate, that some dayes before had received courtesie at their hands, and signified the same to the Governour; wishing that the people of the Iland would become good subiects to the King, and that therefore he would receiue them into his favour and protection, and send them some person as Governour; but none of them spake Spanish, and so we dealt with them by signes. The people of this Iland, as of all *Chily*, are of good stature, and well made, and of better countenance then those *Indians* which I haue seene in many parts. They are of good vnderstanding, and

People of *Chily*.

agilitie,

agilitie, and of great ſtrength; Their weapons are bowes and arrowes and Macanas, their bowes ſhort and ſtrong, and their arrowes of a ſmall reede, or cane, three quarters of a yard long, with two feathers, and headed with a flint ſtone, which is looſe, and hurting, the head remaineth in the wound, ſome are headed with bone, and ſome with hard wood, halfe burnt in the fire. Wee came betwixt the Iland and the mayne; On the ſouth-weſt part of the Iland lyeth a great ledge of Rockes, which are dangerous; and it is good to bee carefull how to come too neere the Iland on all parts. Their weapons.

Immediately when they diſcovered vs, both vpon the Iland, and the Maine, wee might ſee them make ſundry great fires, which were to giue adviſe to the reſt of the people to be in a readineſſe: for they haue continuall and mortall warre with the Spaniards, and the Shippes they ſee, they beleeue to be their Enemies. The Citie Imperiall lyeth over againſt this Iland, but eight or tenne Leagues into the Country: for all the Sea coaſt from *Baldivia*, till 36. Degrees, the Indians haue now (in a manner) in their hands free from any Spaniards. Their hate to the Spaniards.

SECT. XLII.

HAuing refreſhed our ſelues well in this Iland, for that little time wee ſtayed, which was ſome 3. dayes wee ſet ſayle with great ioy, and with a fayre winde ſayled alongſt the coaſt, and ſome eyght Leagues to the North-wards, we anchored againe in a goodly Bay, and ſent our boates aſhore, with deſire to ſpeake with ſome of the *Indians* of *Arawca*, and to ſee, if they would bee content to entertaine amitie, or to chop and change with vs. But all that night and the next morning appeared not one perſon, and ſo wee ſet ſayle againe; and towardes the Evening the winde began to change, and to blow contrary, and that ſo much, and the Sea to riſe ſo ſodainely, that we could not take in our boates, without ſpoyling of them. This ſtorme continued with vs ten dayes beyond expectation, for that wee thought our ſelues out of the climate of fowle weather, but truely it was one of the ſharpeſt ſtormes that ever I felt to endure ſo long. A cruel ſtorme

In this ſtorme, one night haling vp our boates to free the water out of them, one of our younkers that went into them for that

purpose, had not that regard (which reason required) vnto our light horseman: for with haling her vp, to step into her, out of the boate, he split her asunder, and so wee were forced to cut her off; which was no small heartes griefe vnto me, for that I knew, and all my company felt, and many times lamented the losse of her.

The important losse of a small vessell.

The storme tooke end, and wee shaped our course for the Iland of Saint *Maries*, which lyeth in thirtie seaven Degrees and forty minuts, and before you come vnto the Iland some two leagues, in the trade way lyeth a rocke, which a farre off, seemeth to be a Shippe vnder sayle. This Iland is little and low, but fertill and well peopled, with *Indians* and some fewe Spaniards in it. Some ten leagues to the North-wards of this Iland, lyeth the Citty *Conception*, with a good Port; from this wee coasted alongst till wee came in thirty three degrees, and forty minutes. In which height lay the Ilands of *Ivan Fernandes*, betwixt threescore and fourescore Leagues from the shore, plentifull of fish, and good for refreshing. I purposed for many reasons not to discover my selfe vpon this coast, till wee were past *Lyma*, (otherwise called *Ciuidad de los Reyes*, for that it was entered by the Spaniard the day of the three Kings;) but my Company vrged me so farre, that except I should seeme in all things to over-beare them, in not condiscending to that which in the opinion of all (but my selfe) seemed profitable and best, I could not but yeelde vnto, though it carried a false colour, as the ende prooued, for it was our perdition. This all my Company knoweth to be true, whereof some are yet living, and can giue testimonie.

Saint *Maries*.

Citty of *Conception*.

Ivan Fernandes

Good to avoid discovery

But the Mariner is ordinarily so carried away with the desire of Pillage, as sometimes for very appearances of small moment, hee looseth his voyage, and many times himselfe. And so the greedines of spoyle, onely hoped for in shippes of trade, which goe too and fro in this coast, blinded them from forecasting the perill, whereinto wee exposed our voyage, in discovering our selues before wee past the coast of *Callao*, which is the Port of *Lyma*; To be short, wee haled the coast aboord, and that Evening we discovered the Port of *Balparizo*, which serveth the Citty of *Saint Iago*, standing some twenty leagues into the Countrey; when presently we descried foure shippes at an Anchor: whereupon wee manned, and armed our boate, which rowed towards the Shippes: they seeing vs turning in, and fearing that which was, ran a shore with that little they could saue, and leaft vs the rest; whereof, we were Masters in a moment, and had the rifling of all the storehouses on the shoare.

Wilfulnesse of Marriners.

They seize vpon 4. Ships.

This

This night, I ſet a good guard in all the ſhippes, longing to ſee the light of the next morning, to put all things in order; which appearing, I began to ſurvay them, and found nothing of moment, ſaue fiue hundreth Botozios of Wine, two or three thouſand of Hennes, and ſome refreſhing of Bread, Bacon, dried Beeſe, Waxe, Candles, and other neceſſaries. The reſt of their lading was plankes, Spares, and Tymber, for *Lyma*, and the valleyes, which is a rich trade; for it hath no Tymber, but that which is brought to it from other places. They had alſo many Packes of *Indian* Mantles, (but of no value vnto vs) with much Tallow, and *Manteca de Puerco*, and aboundance of great new Cheſts, in which wee had thought to be ſome great maſſe of wealth, but opening them, found nothing but Apples therein; all which was good Marchandize in *Lyma*, but to vs of ſmall accompt. The Marchandize on ſhore, in their Store-houſes was the like, and therefore in the ſame predicament. The owners of the Shippes gaue vs to vnderſtand, that at a reaſonable price they would redeeme their Shippes and loading, which I harkened vnto; and ſo admitted certaine perſons which might treat of the matter, and concluded with them for a ſmall price, rather then to burne them, ſaving for the greateſt, which I carryed with me, more to giue ſatisfaction to my people, then for any other reſpect; becauſe they would not be perſwaded, but that there was much Gold hidden in her; otherwiſe ſhee would haue yeelded vs more then the other three.

And the ware-houſes.

Being in this treatie, one morning, at the breake of day, came another Shippe touring into the Harbour, and ſtanding into the ſhore, but was becalmed. Againſt her we manned a couple of Boates, and tooke her before many houres. In this Shippe, we had ſome good quantitie of Gold, which ſhee had gathered in *Baldivia*, and the *Conception*, from whence ſhee came. Of this Shippe was Pilot, and part owner, *Alonſo Perez bueno*, whom we kept for our Pilot on this coaſt; till moved with compaſſion (for that he was a man charged with wife and children) we ſet him a ſhore betwixt *Santa* and *Truxillo*. Out of this Shippe we had alſo ſtore of good Bacon, and ſome proviſion of Bread, Hennes, and other Victuall. And for that ſhee had brought vs ſo good a portion, and her owner continued with vs, the better to animate him to play the honeſt man (though we truſted him no further then we ſaw him, for we preſently diſcovered him to be a cunning fellow) and for that his other partner had loſt the greateſt part of Gold, and ſeemed to be an honeſt man, as after he prooved by his thankefulneſſe, in *Lyma*; we gaue them the ſhip, and the greateſt part of her loading freely.

They ſeize vpon another Shippe,

and ſome gold.

Light Anchors brought from the North Sea,

Here we supplied our want of Anchors, though not according to that which was requisite, in regard of the burden of our Shippe; for, in the South Sea, the greatest Anchor for a Shippe of sixe or eight hundreth Tunnes, is not a thousand waight; partly, because it is little subiect to stormes, and partly, because those they had till our comming, were all brought out of the North sea by land; for they make no Anchors in those Countries. And the first Artillerie they had, was also brought over land; which was small; the carriage and passage from *Nombre de Dios*, or *Porto Velo* to *Panama* being most difficult and steepe, vp hill and downe hill, they are all carried vpon *Negroes* backes.

And the first Artillerie.

But some yeares before my imprisonment, they fell to making of Artillery, and since they forge Anchors also. Wee furnished our Shippe also with a shift of Sayles of Cotton cloth, which are farre better in that Sea, then any of our double Sayles, for that in all the Navigation of that Sea, they haue little rayne and few stormes, but where rayne and stormes are ordinary, they are not good; for with the wett they grow so stiffe, that they cannot be handled.

Sayles of Cotton cloth.

SECT. XLIII.

I Concluded the ransome of the Shippes with an auncient Captaine, and of Noble blood, who had his daughter there, ready to be imbarked to goe to *Lyma*, to serue *Donia Teruza de Castro*, the Viceroyes wife, and sister to *Don Beltran de Castro*. Her apparell and his, with divers other things which they had imbarked in the greatest Shippe, we restored, for the good office he did vs, and the confidence he had of vs, comming and going onely vpon my word; for which he was ever after thankefull, and deserved much more.

Another that treated with me was Captaine *Ivan Contreres*, owner of one of the Shippes, and of the Iland *Santa Maria*, in thirtie seaven degrees and fortie minutes. In treating of the ransomes, and transporting and lading the provisions we made choyce of, wee spent some sixe or eight dayes; at the end whereof, with reputation amongst our enemies, and a good portion towards our charges, and our Shippe as well stored and victualled, as the day we departed from *England*, we set sayle.

The

The time wee were in this Port, I tooke ſmall reſt, and ſo did the Maſter of our Shippe, *Hugh Corniſh*, a moſt carefull, orderly, and ſufficient man, becauſe we knew our owne weakneſſe; for entring into the Harbour, we had but ſeaventie ſiue men and boyes, fiue Shippes to guard, and every one moored by himſelfe; which (no doubt) if our enemies had knowne, they would haue wrought ſome Stratagem vpon vs; for the Governour of *Chily* was there on ſhore in view of vs, an auncient *Flanders* ſouldier, and of experience, wiſedome, and valour, called *Don Alonſo de Soto Mayor*, of the habit of Saint *Iago*, who was after Captaine generall in *Terra firme*, and wrought all the inventions vpon the River of *Chagree*, and on the ſhore, when Sir *Francis Drake* purpoſed to goe to *Panama*, in the Voyage wherein he died; As alſo at my comming into *Spaine*, he was Preſident in *Panama*, and there, and in *Lyma*, vſed me with great courteſie, like a noble Souldier, and liberall Gentleman; he confeſſed to me after, that he lay in ambuſh, with three hundreth horſe and foote, to ſee if at any time wee had landed, or neglected our watch, with Balſas, which is a certaine Raffe made of Maſtes or Trees faſtened together, to haue attempted ſomething againſt vs. But the enemy I feared not ſo much as the Wine; which, notwithſtanding all the diligence and prevention I could vſe day and night, overthrew many of my people. A foule fault, becauſe too common amongſt Sea-men, and deſerveth ſome rigorous puniſhment, with ſeveritie to be executed; for it hath beene and is daily the deſtruction of many good Enterpriſes, amidſt their beſt hopes. And beſides the ordinary fruites it bringeth forth, of beggery, ſhame, and ſickneſſe, it is a moſt deadly ſinne. A drunkard is vnfit for any government, and if I might be hired with many thouſands, I would not carry with me a man knowne to put his felicitie in that vice, inſtiling it with the name of good fellowſhip; which in moſt well governed Common-wealths, hath beene a ſufficient blemiſh to depriue a man of office, of honour, and eſtimation. It waſteth our Kingdome more then is well vnderſtood, as well by the infirmities it cauſeth, as by the conſumption of wealth, to the impoveriſhing of vs, and the enriching of other Kingdomes.

They depart from *Lyma*,

and conceale their weakneſs.

The noblenes of *Alonſo de Soto*.

The enemy leſſe dangerous then the Wine.

And though I am not old, in compariſon of other auncient men, I can remember Spaniſh wine rarely to be found in this Kingdome. Then hot burning Feavers were not knowne in *England*, and men lived many moe yeares. But ſince the Spaniſh Sacks haue beene common in our Taverns, which (for conſervation) is mingled with Lyme in its making, our Nation complaineth of Calenturas, of the Stone, the Dropſie, and infinite other Diſeaſes, not heard of

Spaniſh Wines and burning Feavers vnknowne in *England*.

before this Wine came in frequent vſe, or but very ſeldome. To confirme which my beliefe, I haue heard one of our learnedſt Phyſitians affirme, that he thought there died more perſons in *England* of drinking Wine, and vſing hot Spices in their meats and drinkes, then of all other diſeaſes. Beſides, there is no yeare, in which it waſteth not two millions of Crownes of our ſubſtance by convayance into forraine Countries, which in ſo well a governed Commonwealth, as ours is acknowledged to be, through the whole world, in all other conſtitutions, in this onely remaineth to be looked into, and remedied. Doubtleſſe, whoſoever ſhould be the Author of this reformation, would gaine with God an everlaſting reward, and of his Country a Statua of Gold, for a perpetuall memory of ſo meritorious a Worke.

And conſumeth treaſure.

Sect. XLIIII.

Deſcription of the Bay.

A League or better before a man diſcover this Bay to the South-wards, lyeth a great Rocke, or ſmall Iland, neere the ſhore; vnder which, for a need, a man may ride with his Shippe. It is a good marke, and ſure ſigne of the Port, and diſcovering the Bay a man muſt giue a good birth to the poynt of the Harbour; for it hath perilous Rockes lying a good diſtance off. It neither ebbeth nor floweth in this Port, nor from this, till a man come to *Guayaquill*, which is three degrees from the Equinoctiall lyne to the South-wards; Let this be conſidered. It is a good Harbour for all windes, that partake not of the North; for it runneth vp South and by Weſt, and South South-weſt, but it hath much fowle ground.

A new deviſe for ſtopping a Leake without board.

In one of theſe Shippes wee found a new deviſe for the ſtopping of a ſodaine Leake in a Shippe vnder water, without board, when a man cannot come to it within board; which eaſed vs of one, that we had from the day we departed from *Detford*, cauſed by the touching a-ground of our Shippe at low water, being loaden, and in the neape ſtreames, comming a-ground in the ſterne, the force of the tyde cauſed to caſt thwart, wreſted her ſlegg, and that in ſuch ſort, as it made a continuall Leake, though not much. And for that others may profit themſelues of the like, I thinke it good to ſet downe the manner of it; which was, taking a round wicker Basket, and to fill it with peeces of a Iunke or Rope, chopped very ſmall, and of an inch long, and after tozed all as Oacombe; then

then the Basket is to be covered with a Nett, the meshes of it being at the least two inches square, and after to be tied to a long Pike or Pole, which is to goe acrosse the Baskets mouth; and putting it vnder water, care is to be had to keepe the Baskets mouth towardes the Shippes side; if the Leake be any thing great, the Oacombe may be somewhat longer, and it carrieth likelihood to doe good, & seemeth to be better then the stitching of a Bonnet, or any other diligence, which as yet I haue seene.

Another thing I noted of these Shippes, which would be also vsed by vs; that every Shippe carrieth with her a spare Rudder, and they haue them to hange and vnhange with great facilitie: and besides, in some part of the Shippe, they haue the length, breadth, and proportion of the Rudder marked out, for any mischance that may befall them; which is a very good prevention. Spare Rudders.

Tenne leagues to the North-wards of this Harbour, is the bay of *Quintera*, where is good anchoring, but an open bay; where master *Thomas Candish* (for the good he had done to a *Spaniard*, in bringing him out of the Straits of *Magellan*, where, otherwise, he had perished with his company) was by him betrayed, and a dozen of his men taken and slaine: But the iudgement of God left not his ingratitude vnpunished; for, in the fight with vs, in the Vice-admirall, he was wounded and maymed in that manner, as three yeares after, I saw him begge with Crutches, and in that miserable estate, as he had beene better dead, then aliue. Bay of *Quintera*. *Nota veram hispanum.*

From *Balparizo*, wee sayled directly to *Coquimbo*, which is in thirtie degrees, and comming thwart the place, wee were becalmed, and had sight of a shippe: but for that shee was farre off, and night at hand, shee got from vs, and wee having winde entered the Port, thinking to haue had some shipping in it; but wee lost our labour: and for that the Towne was halfe a League vpp in the Countrey, and wee not manned for any matter of attempt, worthy prosecution, wee made no abode on the shore; but presently set sayle for the *Peru*. This is the best Harbour that I haue seene in the south sea, it is land-locked for all winds, and capeable of many shippes; but the ordinary place where the shippes lade, and vnlade, and accommodate themselues, is betwixt a Rocke, and the Mayne on the wester-side, some halfe a league vp within the entrance of the Port, which lyeth south and south, and by East and North, and by west. *Coquimbo.*

In the in-country, directly ouer the Port, is a round piked hill, like a sugar loafe, and before the entrance on the southern poynt of the port comming in, out of the Sea, it is a great Rocke, a good

birth from the shore; and these are the markes of the Port as I remember.

Ariea in *Chily*, much commended.

Being cleere of this Port, wee shaped our course for *Ariea*, and leaft the Kingdomes of *Chily*, one of the best Countries that the Sunne shineth on: for it is of a temperate clymate, and abounding in all things necessary, for the vse of man, with infinite rich mines of Gold, Copper, and sundry other mettals.

For all sorts of fruites.

The poorest houses in it, by report of their Inhabitants, haue of their owne store, bread, wine, flesh, and fruite; which is so plentifull, that of their superfluitie they supply other partes; Sundry kindes of Cattell, as Horses, Goates, and Oxen brought thither by the Spaniards, are found in heardes of thoulands, wilde, and without owner; besides those of the Countrey, which are common to most partes of *America*: in some of which are found the Bezar stones, and those very good and great.

Amongst others they haue little beastes, like vnto a Squirrell, but that hee is gray, his skinne is the most delicate soft, and curious furre that I haue seene, and of much estimation, (as is reason) in the *Peru*; few of them come into *Spaine*, because difficult to be come by, for that the Princes and Nobles laie waite for them, they call this beast *Chinchilla*, and of them they haue great abundance.

All fruites of *Spaine*, they haue in great plentie, saving stone fruite, and Almonds: for in no part of the *Indies*, haue I knowne, that Plumbes, Cherries, or Almondes haue borne fruit: but they haue certaine little round Cocos, as those of *Brasill*, of the bignesse of a Wall-nut, which is as good as an Almond: besides, it hath most of the fruites naturall to *America*, of which in another place I shall (God willing) speake particularly.

And plenty of Gold.

The Gold they gather, is in two manners; the one is washing the earth in great Trayes of wood in many waters; as the earth wasteth away, the Gold in the bottome remaineth. The other is, by force of Art, to draw it out of the Mynes, in which they finde it. In most partes of the Countrie, the earth is mingled with Gold; for the Butizias (in which the Wine was) which wee found in *Balpharizo*, had many sparkes of Gold shining in them. Of it the Gold-smiths I carryed with me (for like purposes) made experience.

When *Baldivia* and *Arawca* were peaceable, they yeelded greatest plentie, and the best: but now, their greatest Mynes are in *Coquimbo*; as also the Mines of Copper, which they carry to the *Peru*, and sell it better cheape, then it is ordinarily sold in *Spaine*.

The *Indians* knowing the end of the *Spaniards* moleſtation, to be principally the deſire of their riches, haue enacted, that no man, vpon paine of death, doe gather any Gold. The *Indians* forbid the ſearch of gold.

In *Coquimbo* it rayneth ſeldome, but every ſhowre of rayne, is a ſhowre of Gold vnto them; for with the violence of the water falling from the Mountaines, it bringeth from them the Gold; and beſides, giues them water to waſh it out, as alſo for their ingenious to worke; ſo that ordinarily every weeke they haue Proceſſions for rayne. Every ſhowre, a ſhowre of gold.

In this Kingdome they make much linnen and woollen Cloth, and great ſtore of *Indian* Mantles, with which they furniſh other partes, but all is courſe ſtuffe. It hath no Silke, nor Iron, except in Mynes, and thoſe as yet not diſcouered. Pewter is well eſteemed, and ſo are finne linnen, woollen cloth, Haberdaſhers wares, edge-tooles, and Armes, or Munition. Linnen and woollen cloth made in *Coquimbo*.

It hath his Gouernour, and *Audiencia*, with two Biſhoppes: the one of *Saint Iago*, the other of the *Imperiall*; all vnder the Vice-roy, *Audiencia*, and Primate of *Lyma*. *Saint Iago* is the Metropolitan and head of the Kingdome, and the ſeate of Iuſtice, which hath his appellation to *Lyma*.

The people are induſtrious and ingenious, of great ſtrength, and invincible courage; as in the warres, which they haue ſuſteyned aboue fortie yeares continually againſt the *Spaniards*, hath beene experienced. For confirmation whereof, I will alledge onely two prooſes of many; the one was of an *Indian* Captaine, taken priſoner by the *Spaniards*; and for that, he was of name and knowne to haue done his deuoire againſt them, they cut off his hands, thereby intending to diſenable him to fight any more againſt them; but he returning home, deſirous to reuenge this iniury, to maintaine his libertie, with the reputation of his Nation, and to helpe to baniſh the *Spaniard*, with his tongue intreated and incited them to perſeuere in their accuſtomed valour and reputation; abaſing the enemy, and aduancing his Nation; condemning their contraries of Cowardlineſſe, and confirming it by the crueltie vſed with him, and others his companions in their miſhaps; ſhewing them his armes without hands, and naming his brethren, whoſe halfe feete they had cut off, becauſe they might be vnable to ſit on horſebacke with force, arguing, that if they feared them not, they would not haue vſed ſo great inhumanitie; for feare produceth crueltie, the companion of Cowardize. Thus incouraged he them to fight for their liues, limbes, and libertie, chooſing rather to die an honourable death fighting, then to liue in ſeruitude, as fruitleſſe members in The valour of the *Araucans*.

their Common-wealth. Thus, vsing the office of a Sergeant Maior, and having loaden his two stumpes with bundles of Arrowes, succoured those, who in the succeeding battaile had their store wasted; and changing himselfe from place to place, animated and encouraged his Countri-men, with such comfortable perswasions, as it is reported, and credibly beleeved, that he did much more good with his words, and presence, without striking a stroake, then a great part of the Armie did with fighting to the vtmost.

The other proofe is, that such of them as fight on horsebacke, are but slightly armed, for that their armour is a Beasts hide, fitted to their bodie, greene, and after worne till it be dry and hard. He that is best armed, hath him double; yet any one of them with these Armes, and with his Launce, will fight hand to hand with any *Spaniard* armed from head to foote. And it is credibly reported, that an *Indian* being wounded through the body by a *Spaniards* Launce, with his owne hands hath crept on vpon the Launce, and come to grapple with his adversary, and both fallen to the ground together. By which is seene their resolution and invincible courage; and the desire they haue to maintaine their reputation and libertie.

SECT. XLV.

LEaving the coast of *Chily*, and running towards that of *Peru*, my company required the third of the Gold we had gotten, which of right belonged vnto them; wherein I desired to giue them satisfaction of my iust intention, but not to deuide it till wee came home, and so perswaded them with the best reasons I could; alledging the difficultie to deuide the barres, and being parted, how easie it was to be robbed of them, and that many would play away their portions, and come home as beggerly as they came out; and that the shares could not be well made before our returne to *England*, because every mans merites could not be discerned nor rewarded till the end of the Voyage. In conclusion, it was resolved, and agreed, that the things of price, as Gold and Silver, should be put into Chests with three keyes, whereof I should haue the one, the Master another, and the third some other person, whom they should name. This they yeelded vnto with great difficultie, and not without reason; for the bad correspondence vsed by many Captaines and owners with their companies vpon their returne, defrauding

them, or diminiſhing their rights, hath hatched many iealouſies, and produced many diſorders, with the overthrow of all good diſcipline and government, as experience teacheth; for where the Souldier and Marriner is vnpaide, or defrauded, what ſervice or obedience can be required at his hands?

The covetous Captaine, or Commander, looſeth the loue of thoſe vnder his charge; yea, though he haue all the parts beſides required in a perfect Commander, yet if he preferre his private profite before juſtice, hardly will any man follow ſuch a Leader, eſpecially, in our Kingdome, where more abſolute authoritie and truſt is committed to thoſe who haue charge, then in many other Countries.

Moſt men vnwilling to follow covetous Commanders.

And therefore in election of Chieftaines, care would be had in examination of this poynt. The ſhamefull fruites whereof (found by experience of many yeares, wherein I haue wandred the world) I leaue to touch in particular; becauſe I will not diminiſh the reputation of any. But this let me manifeſt, that there haue bin and are certaine perſons, who, before they goe to Sea, either robbe part of the proviſions, or in the buying, make penurious, vnholſome, and avaritious penny-worths; and the laſt I hold to be the leaſt; for they robbe onely the Victuallers and owners, but the others ſteale from owners, victuallers, and companie, and are many times the onely overthrowers of the Voyage; for the company thinking themſelues to be ſtored with foure or ſixe moneths Victualls, vpon ſurvay, they find their Bread, Beefe, or Drinke ſhort, yea, perhappes all, and ſo are forced to ſeeke home in time of beſt hopes, and imployment. This miſchiefe is moſt ordinary in great actions.

The miſchiefs of corrupt, or ſcantie proviſions.

Laſtly, ſome are ſo cunning, that they not onely make their voyage by robbing before they goe to Sea, but of that alſo which commeth home. Such gamſters, a wiſe man of our Nation reſembled to the Mill on the River of *Thames*, for Grinding both with flood and ebbe; So, theſe at their going out, and comming home, will be ſure to robbe all others of their ſhares: although this be a great abuſe amongſt vs, and but of late dayes practiſed, and by me ſpoken vnto by way of animadverſion, either in hope of redreſſe, or for infliction of puniſhment; yet I would haue the world know, that in other Countries, the fault is farre more inſufferable. And the principall cauſe which I can finde for it, is that our Country imployeth her Nobles, or men of credite in all actions of moment, who rather chuſe to ſpend wealth, and gaine honor, then to gaine riches without reputation; whereas in *Spaine*, and other partes, the advancement of poore men and meane perſons by favour and inte-

reſt produceth no other end, but private and particular reſpects, to enrich themſelues, yet the Nobilitie themſelues (for the moſt part) in all occaſions pretend rewards for any ſmall ſervice whatſoever, which with vs as yet is not in vſe.

Of detayning and defrauding of wages.

But the greateſt and moſt principall Robbery of all, in my opinion, is the defrauding, or detaining of the Companies thirdes or wages, accurſed by the iuſt God, who forbiddeth the hyre of the labourer to ſleepe with vs. To ſuch I ſpeake as either abuſe themſelues in detayning it; or elſe to ſuch as force the poore man to ſell it at vile and low prices; and laſtly to ſuch as vpon fained cavils and ſutes, doe deterre the ſimple and ignorant ſort from their due proſecutions; which being too much in vſe amongſt vs, hath bred in thoſe that follow the Sea a iealouſie in all imployments, and many times cauſeth mutenies and infinite inconveniences. A poynt deſerving conſideration and reformation, and which with great facilitie may be remedied, if vpright juſtice would put it ſelfe as ſtickler betwixt the owners and Company.

Of marriners by challenge of Pillage.

No leſſe worthie of reformation are the generall abuſes of Marriners and Souldiers, who robbe all they can, vnder the colour of Pillage, and after make Ordinance, Cables, Sayles, Anchors, and all aboue Deckes, to belong vnto them of right, whether they goe by thirdes or wages; this proceedeth from thoſe pilfering warres, wherein every Gallant that can arme out a Shippe, taketh vpon him the name and office of a Captaine, not knowing what to command, nor what to execute. Such Commanders for the moſt part conſort and ioyne vnto themſelues diſorderly perſons, Pyrates, and Ruffians, vnder the title of men of valour and experience: they meeting with any Priſe, make all vpon the Deckes theirs of dutie; *viz.* the beſt peece of Ordinance for the Captaine; the ſecond, for the Gunner; the third, for his Mate; the beſt Cable and Anchor for the Maſter; the Maine topſayle, for the Boteſman; the bonnetts, for the quarter Maſters; and the reſt of the Sayles for the company: The Cardes and Inſtruments of the Maſter, for the Maſter; the Surgeans Inſtruments and Cheſt, for the Surgean; the Carpenters Tooles and Cheſt for the Carpenter; and ſo conſequently of each officer, that anſwereth the other in the two Shippes.

If one happen vpon a bag of Gold, Silver, Pearle, or precious Stones, it is held well gotten; provided it be cleanly ſtolne, though the Shippe, and all her loading beſides be not worth ſo much, little conſidering the common iniury, in defrauding the owners, victuallers, and whole Companie: and forgetting, that if himſelfe were a jury-man vpon another in like caſe, he would adiudge him

to the Gallows. But I would adviſe ſuch Novices to know, that our true and auncient Diſcipline of Warre is farre different, and being vnderſtood, is much more better for the generall. Beſides, it is grounded on Gods law, (from whence all Lawes ſhould be derived) and true juſtice, which diſtributeth to every one that which to him belongeth of right, and that in due ſeaſon.

In the time of warre in our Countrey, as alſo in others, by the lawes of *Oleron* (which to our auncient Sea-men were fundamentall) nothing is allowed for Pillage but Apparell, Armes, Inſtruments, and other neceſſaries belonging to the perſons, in that ſhippe which is taken; and theſe too, when the ſhippe is gained by dint of ſword; with a proviſo, that if any perticular pillage, exceede the valew of ſixe crownes, it may bee redeemed for that valew, by the generall ſtocke, and ſould for the common benefit. The lawes of *Oleron*, concerning pillage.

If the priſe render it ſelfe without forcible entry, all in generall ought to be preſerved and ſould in maſſe, and ſo equally devided: yea though the ſhippe bee wonne by force and entry, yet whatſoever belongeth to her of tackling, ſayles, or Ordinance, is to bee preſerved for the generalitie: ſaving a peece of Artillery for the Captaine; another for the Gunner, and a Cable and Anchor for the Maſter, which are the rights due vnto them; and theſe to be delivered, when the ſhippe is in ſafety, and in Harbour, eyther vnloaden or ſould: which law or cuſtome well conſidered, will riſe to be more beneficiall for the owners, victuallars, and company; then the diſorders newly crept in and before remembred.

For the Sayles, Cables, Anchors, and hull, being ſould (every one a part) yeelde not the one halfe, which they would doe, if they were ſould altogether, beſides the excuſing of charges, and robberies in the vnloading and parting.

In the warres of *Fraunce*, in the time of Queene *Mary*, and in other warres (as I haue heard of many auncient Captaines) the Companie had but the fourth part, and every man bound to bring with him the Armes, with which hee would fight: which in our time, I haue knowne alſo vſed in *Fraunce*; and if the Company victualed themſelues, they had then the one halfe, and the owners the other halfe for the Shippe, powder, ſhott, and munition. If any priſe were taken, it was ſould by the Tunne, ſhippe and goods, ſo as the loading permitted it; that the Marchant having bought the goods, hee might preſently tranſport them whatſoever he would; By this manner of proceeding, all reſted contented,

tented, all being truely payd; for this was iuſt dealing; If any deſerved reward, he was recompenſed out of the generall ſtocke; If any one had filched or ſtolne, or commited offence, hee had likewiſe his deſert: And who once was knowne, to be a diſordered perſon, or a theefe, no man would receiue him into his ſhippe, whereas now a dayes many vaunt themſelues of their theftes and diſorders; yea I haue ſeene the common ſort of Mariners, vnder the name of pillage, maintaine and iuſtifie their robberies moſt inſolently, before the Queenes Maieſties commiſſioners, with arrogant and vnſeemely termes, for that they would not condiſcend to their vnreaſonable challenges: The demaunds being better worth then fiue hundreth poundes, which ſome one pretended to be his; and that of the choyſeſt Marchandize, and moſt of it robbed out of that part of the ſhippe, which they themſelues, and all the world cannot but confeſſe to be Marchandize.

My opinion is, that ſuch Malaperts, deſerue moſt iuſtly to haue their ſpoyle taken from them, or ſome worſe conſideration, and afterwards to be ſeuerely puniſhed, in prevention of greater preiudices, then can by paper be well declared.

But I muſt tell you withall (ſuch hath beene the partiallitie of ſome Commiſſioners in former times) that vpon information, in lieu of puniſhment, Opinion hath held them for tall fellowes, when, in truth, they never proue the beſt men in difficult occaſions. For their mindes are all ſet on ſpoyle, and can bee well contented to ſuffer their aſſociates to beare the brunt, whilleſt they are prolling after pillage, the better to gaine and mainetaine the aforeſayd attributes, in Tavernes, and diſorderly places.

For the orderly and quiet men, I haue ever found in all occaſions to bee of beſt vſe, moſt valiant, and of greateſt ſufficiency. Yet I condemne none: but thoſe who will bee reputed valiant, and are not, examine the accuſation.

What ought to be reputed pillage.

All what ſoever is found vpon the decke, going for Marchandize, is exempted out of the cenſure of pillage; Silkes, Linnen, or woollen cloth in whole peeces, apparell, that goeth to be ſold, or other goods what ſoever (though they be in remnants,) manifeſtly knowne to be carryed for that end; or being comprehended in the Regiſter, or bils of lading, are not to bee contayned vnder the name of pillage.

Againſt the diſloyalties of Captaines.

But as I haue ſayd of the conſort, ſo can I not but complaine of many Captaines and Gouernours, who ouercome with like greedie deſire of gaine, condiſcend to the ſmoothering and ſuppreſſing of this auncient diſcipline, the cleanlier to ſmother their owne diſloyaltie,

diſloyalties, in ſuffering theſe breake-bulks to eſcape, and abſent themſelues, till the heate be paſt, and partition made.

Some of theſe cauſe the bils of lading to bee caſt into the Sea, or ſo to bee hidden, that they never appeare. Others ſend away their priſoners, who ſometimes are more worth then the ſhippe and her lading, becauſe they ſhould not diſcover their ſecret ſome treaſure; for many times, that which is leaſt out of the Regiſter or bils of lading, (with purpoſe to defraud the Prince of his Cuſtomes, (in their conceits, held to be exceſſiue) is of much more value, then that which the ſhippe and lading is worth. Yea I haue knowne ſhippes worth two hundreth thouſand pounds, and better, cleane ſwept of their principall riches, nothing but the bare bulke being leaſt vnſacked. The like may be ſpoken, of that which the diſorderly Marriner, and the Souldier termeth pillage; yet all winked at, and vnpuniſhed, although ſuch prizes haue beene rendred without ſtroake ſtricken.

Concealements of much more value, then the Trading.

This doubtleſſe, cannot but be an hearts greife and diſcouragement to all thoſe who vertuouſly, and truely deſire to obſerue the auncient diſcipline of our Nation, their owne honours, and the ſervice of their Soveraigne.

But to prevent theſe vnknowne miſchiefes, (and for his better diſcharge) I remember, that my Father Sir *Iohn Hawkins* in his inſtructions, in actions vnder his charge, had this particular Article; That whoſoever rendred, or tooke any ſhippe, ſhould be bound to exhibite the bils of lading; to keepe the Captaine, Maſter, Marchants, and perſons of account, and to bring them to him to be examined, or into *England*; If they ſhould bee by any accident ſeperated from him, what ſoever was found wanting (the priſoners being examined) was to bee made good by the Captaine, and Company, which tooke the ſhippe, and this vpon great puniſhments. I am witnes, and avow, that this courſe did redownd much to the benefitt of the generall ſtocke; to the ſatisfaction of her Maieſtie, and Counſell; the iuſtification of his governement, and the content of his followers.

The prevention of vndue pillagings.

Thus much haue I ſet downe concerning theſe abuſes, and the reformation thereof, for that, I haue neither ſeene them divulged by any, with whom I haue gone to Sea, neither yet recorded in writing, by any mans pen; let conſideration, preſent them to the eares of the powerfull; But now to our Voyage.

SECT. XLVI.

RVnning alongst the coast, till wee came within few Leagues of *Arica*, nothing happened vnto vs of extraordinary noveltie, or moment, for we had the breſe favourable, which ſeldome happeneth in this Climate, finding our ſelues in nineteene Degrees, wee haled the ſhore cloſe abourd, purpoſing to ſee, if there were any ſhipping in the road of *Arica*. It ſtandeth in a great large Bay, in eighteene degrees: and before you come to it, a league to the ſouthwards of the roade and Towne, is a great round hill, higher then the reſt of the land of the Bay, neere about the Towne: which wee having diſcovered, had ſight preſently of a ſmall Barke, cloſe abourd the ſhore becalmed; manning our boate, wee tooke her, being loaden with fiſh from *Moormereno*; which is a goodly head-land, very high, and lyeth betwixt twenty foure, and twenty fiue Degrees, and whether ordinarily ſome barkes vſe to goe a fiſhing every yeare.

Arica.

In her was a *Spaniard* and ſixe *Indians*; The *Spaniard*, for that hee was neere the ſhore, ſwam vnto the Rockes, and though wee offered to returne him his barke, and fiſh, (as was our meaning) yet hee refuſed to accept it, and made vs anſwere, that hee durſt not, for feare leaſt the Iuſtice ſhould puniſh him. In ſo great ſubiection are the poore vnto thoſe, who haue the adminiſtration of Iuſtice in thoſe partes, and in moſt partes of the Kingdomes and Countries ſubiect to *Spaine*. Inſomuch, that to heare the Iuſtice to enter in at their doores, is to them deſtruction and deſolation: for this cauſe wee carried her alongſt with vs.

The ſeverity of *Spaine*.

In this meane while, wee had ſight of another tall ſhippe, comming out of the Sea, which wee gaue chaſe vnto, but could not fetch vpp, beeing too good of ſayle for vs. Our ſmall prize and boate ſtanding off vnto vs, deſcryed another ſhippe, which they chaſed and tooke alſo, loaden with fiſh, comming from the Ilands of *Iuan Fernandes*.

After we opened the Bay and Port of *Arica*, but ſeeing it cleane without ſhipping, wee haled the coaſt alongſt, and going aboord to viſit the bigger prize, my company ſaluted mee with a volley of ſmall ſhot. Amongſt them, one Muſket brake, and carryed away the hand of him that ſhot it, through his owne default, which for that I haue ſeene to happen many times, I thinke it neceſſary to

note

note in this place, that others may take warning by his harme.

The cauſe of the Muskets breaking, was the charging with two bullets, the powder being ordayned to carry but the waight of one, and the Musket not to ſuffer two charges of powder or ſhott. By this over-ſight, the fire is reſtrayned with the overplus of the waight of ſhott, and not being able to force both of them out, breaketh all to peeces, ſo to find a way to its owne center. Overcharging of Artileries.

And I am of opinion, that it is a great errour, to proue great Ordinance, or ſmall ſhot, with double charges of powder, or ſhot, my reaſon is, for that ordinarily the mettall is proportioned to the waight of the ſhot, which the Peece is to beare, and the powder correſpondent to the waight of the bullet: and this being graunted, I ſee no reaſon why any man ſhould require to proue his peece with more, then is belonging to it of right: for I haue ſeene many goodly peeces broken with ſuch tryals, being cleane without hony combes, cracke, flawe, or other perceavable blemiſh, which no doubt, with their ordinary allowance would haue ſerved many yeares. Yea I haue beene certified by men of credit, that ſome Gunners haue taken a glory, for breaking many peeces in the tryall: which is eaſie to be done by ſundry ſlights and meanes not fitt to bee publiſhed, much leſſe to bee exerciſed, being preiudiciall to the ſeller, and chargeable to the Conſcience of the practiſer, therefore it were good, this exceſſiue tryall by double charges were cleane aboliſhed. If I ſhoulde make choyce for my ſelfe, I would not willingly, that any peece ſhould come into Fort, or Shippe, (vnder my charge) which had borne at any time more then his ordinary allowance, miſdoubting, leaſt, through the violence of the double charge, the Peece may bee craſed within, or ſo forced, as at another occaſion, with his ordinary allowance he might breake in peeces: how many men ſo many mindes: for to others, this may ſeeme harſh, for that the contrary cuſtome hath ſo long time beene received, and therefore I ſubmit to better experience, and contradict not but that in a demy Culvering, a man may put two Saker or Minion ſhots, or many of ſmaller waight: and ſo in a Muskett, two Calever ſhott, or many ſmaller, ſo they exceede not the ordinary waight, preſcribed by proportion, Arte, and experience. Theſe experiments, I hold convenient vpon many occaſions, yea and moſt neceſſary; but the vaine cuſtome of double charges, to cauſe their peeces thereby to giue a better report, I affirme can produce no other effect, but danger, loſſe and harme.

Sect. XLVII.

HAuing visited our prises, and finding in them nothing but fish, we tooke a small portion for our victualing, and gaue the bigger shippe to the *Spaniards* againe, and the lesser wee kept, with purpose to make her our Pinnas. The *Indians* (which wee tooke in her) would by no meanes depart from vs, but desired to goe with vs for England; saying that the *Indian* and *English* were brothers, and in all places where wee came, they shewed themselues much affectionated vnto vs, these were Natiues of *Moremoreno*, and the most brutish of all that ever I had seene; and except it were in forme of men and speech, they seemed altogether voyde of that which appertained to reasonable men. They were expert swimmers; but after the manner of Spaniels, they diue and abide vnder water a long time, and swallow the water of the Sea, as if it were of a fresh River, except a man see them, he would hardly beleeue how they continue in the Sea, as if they were Mermaides, and the water their naturall Element.

The amity of the *Indians*.

Their Countrey is most barren, and poore of foode; If they take a fish aliue out of the Sea, or meete with a peece of salted fish, they will devoure it without any dressing, as savourely as if it had beene most curiously sodden or dressed, all which makes me beleeue, that they sustaine themselues of that, which they catch in the Sea.

The *Spaniards* profit themselues, of their labour and trauell, and recompence them badly, they are in worse condition then their slaues, for to those they giue sustenance, house-roome, and clothing, and teach them the knowledge of God; but the other they vse as beasts, to doe their labour without wages, or care of their bodies, or soules.

SECT. XLVIII.

THwart of *Ariquipa*, the ſhippe we brought with vs from *Balparizo*, being very leake, and my Companie ſatisfied, that their hope to find any thing of worth in her, was vaine, having ſearched her from poſt to ſtemme, condiſcended to fire her, and the rather, to keepe our Company together; which could not well ſuffer any deviſion, more then of meere neceſſity: ſo by generall accord we eaſed our ſelues of her, and continued our courſe alongſt the coaſt, till we came thwart of the Bay of *Piſco*; which lyeth within 15. Degrees and 15. minuts.

Preſently after wee were cleare of Cape *Saugalean*, and his Ilands, wee ranged this Bay with our Boate and Pinnace. It hath 2. ſmall Ilands in it, but without fruite; and being becalmed, we anchored two dayes thwart of *Chilca*.

Adviſe given by Sea and Land.

By Sea and by Land, thoſe of *Clyly* had given adviſe to *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoca*, Marquis of *Cavete*, Vice-Roy of *Peru*, reſident in *Lima*, of our being on the Coaſt. Hee preſently with all poſſible diligence, put out ſixe ſhippes in warlike order, with well neere two thouſand men, and diſpatched them to ſeeke vs, and to fight with vs, vnder the conduct of *Don Beltrian de Caſtro Y delaluca*, his wiues brother; who departing out of the Port of *Callao*, turned to wind-ward, in ſight over the ſhore, from whence they had dayly intelligence, where wee had beene diſcovered. And the next day after our departure out of *Chilca*, about the middle of May, at breake of day, wee had ſight each of other, thwart of *Cavete*, wee being to wind-wards of the *Spaniſh* Armado, ſome two leagues, and all with little, or no winde. Our Pinnace or priſe being furniſhed with Oares came vnto vs, out of which we thought to haue taken our men, and ſo to leaue her; but being able to come vnto vs at all times, it was held for better, to keepe her till neceſſity forced vs to leaue her; and ſo it was determined; that if we came to likelihood of boording, ſhee ſhould lay our Boate aboord, and enter all her men, and from thence to enter our ſhippe, and ſo to forſake her; Although by the event in that occaſion, this proved good, notwithſtanding I hold it to bee reproved, where the Enemie is farre ſuperior in multitude and force, and able to come and board, if hee liſt: and that the ſureſt courſe, is to fortifie the principall, the beſt that may bee, and to cut off all impediments,

where a man is forced to defence; for that no man is assured to haue time answerable to his purpose and will, and vpon doubt whether the others in hope to saue themselues, will not leaue him in greatest extremitie.

SECT. XLIX.

WEe presently put our selues in the best order wee could, to fight, and to defend our selues: our prayers we made vnto the Lord God of battails, for his helpe and our deliverance, putting our selues wholy into his hands. About nine of the Clocke, the Breze began to blow, and wee to stand off into the Sea, the *Spaniards* cheeke by iole with vs, ever getting to the windwards vpon vs; for that the shipping of the South-sea, is ever moulded sharpe vnder water, and long; all their voyages depending vpon turning to wind-wardes, and the Breze blowing ever Southerly.

As the Sunne began to mount aloft, the wind began to fresh: which together with the Rowling Sea, that ever beateth vpon this Coast, comming out of the westerne-bourd, caused a chapping Sea, wherewith the Admirall of the *Spaniards* snapt his maine Mast asunder, and so began to lagge a sterne, and with him, other two shippes. The Vice-admirall split her maine-sayle, being come within shott of vs, vpon our broad side, but to le-wards: the Reare-admirall cracked her maine-yard asunder in the middest, being a head of vs. One of the Armado, which had gotten vpon the broad side of vs, to wind-wards, durst not assault vs.

With these disgraces vpon them, and the hand of God helping and delivering vs, night comming, we began to consult what course was best to be taken, to free our selues: wherein were divers opinions; some sayd it was best to stand off to the Sea close by, all the night; others to lye it a hull; others to cast about to the shoare-wards two glasses, and after all the night to stand off to Sea close by. The Admirall of the *Spaniards*, with the other two, were a sterne of vs, some foure leagues; the Vice-Admirall a mile right to le-wards of vs; the Reare-Admirall in a manner right a head, some Culvering shott; and one vpon our loose, within shott also, the Moone was to rise within two houres. After much debating, it was concluded, that wee should beare vp before the winde, and seeke

ſeeke to eſcape betwixt the Amirall, and the Vice-Admirall, which wee put in execution, not knowing of any other diſgrace befallen them, but that of the Reare-Admirall: till after our ſurrender, when they recounted vnto vs all that had paſt. In the Morning at breake of day, wee were cleere of all our Enemies, and ſo ſhaped our courſe alongſt the Coaſt, for the Bay of *Atacames*, where we purpoſed to trim our Pinnace, and to renue our wood and water, and ſo to depart vpon our Voyage, with all poſſible ſpeede.

The *Spaniſh* Armado, returned preſently to *Callao*, which is the Port of *Lyma*, or of the Citty of the *Kings*.

It was firſt named *Lyma*, and retayneth alſo that name of the River, which paſſeth by the Citty called *Lyma*, the *Spaniſh* Armado being entred the Port, the people began to goe aſhore, where they were ſo mocked, and ſcorned by the women, as ſcarce any one, by day would ſhew his face, they reviled them with the name of cowards and golnias, and craved licence of the Vice-roy, to bee admitted in their roomes, and to vndertake the ſurrendry of the *Engliſh* Shippe. I haue beene certified for truth, that ſome of them affronted their Souldiers with Daggers and Piſtols by their ſides.

This wrought ſuch effects in the hearts of the diſgraced, as they vowed eyther to recover their reputation loſt, or to follow vs into *England*, and ſo with expedition, the Vice-roy commaunded two ſhippes and a Pinnace, to bee put in order, and in them placed the chiefe Souldiers and Marriners of the reſt, and furniſhed them with victuals and munition.

The foreſayd Generall is once againe diſpatched to ſeeke vs; who ranged the Coaſtes and Ports, enſorming himſelfe what hee could; Some fiftie leagues to the North-wards of *Lyma*, in ſight of *Mongon*, wee tooke a ſhippe halfe loaden with wheate, ſugar, miell *de Canas*, and Cordovan skins: which for that ſhee was leake, and ſayled badly, and tackled in ſuch manor (as the Marriners would not willingly put themſelues into her) wee tooke what was neceſſary for our proviſion and fired her.

Thwart of *Truxillo*, wee ſet the companie of her a ſhoare, with the Pilot which wee had taken in *Balparizo*, reſerving the Pilot of the burnt ſhippe, and a Greeke, who choſe rather to continue with vs, then to hazard their lives in going a ſhore; for that they had departed out of the Port of *Santa*, (which is in eight Degrees) being required by the Iuſtice, not to weigh anchor, before the Coaſt was knowne to be cleere

It is a thing worthy to be noted, and almost incredible, with how few men they vse to sayle a shippe in the south Sea, for in this prise, which was aboue an hundred Tuns, were but eight persons; and in a shippe of three hundreth Tuns, they vse not to put aboue fourteene or fifteene persons: yea I haue beene credibly enformed, that with fourteene persons, a shippe of fiue hundreth Tuns hath beene carried from *Guayaquil* to *Lyma*, deepe loaden: (which is aboue two hundreth Leagues) and are forced ever to gaine their Voyage by turning to wind-wards, which is the greatest toyle and labour that the Mariners haue; and slow sometimes in this voyage foure or fiue moneths, which is generall in all the navigations of this coast: But the security from stormes, and certainty of the Brese, (with the desire to make their gaine the greater) is the cause that every man forceth himselfe to the vttermost, to doe the labour of two men.

Sect. L.

The Ilands of *Salomon.*

IN the height of this Port of *Santa*, some seaven hundreth and fiftie leagues to the west-wards, lie the Ilands of *Salomon*, of late yeares discovered. At my being in *Lyma*, a Fleete of foure sayle was sent from thence to people them; which through the emulation, and discord that arose amongst them, being landed and setled in the Countrey, was vtterly overthrowne; onely one shippe, with some few of the people, after much misery, got to the *Philippines*. This I came to the knowledge of, by a large relation written from a person of credit, and sent from the *Philippines* to *Panama*: I saw it, at my being there, in my voyage towards *Spaine*.

Having edged neere the coast, to put the *Spaniards* on shore, a thicke fogge tooke vs, so that wee could not see the Land: but recovering our Pinnace and Boate, wee sayled on our course, till we came thwart of the Port called *Atabrigo*, It lieth in seaven Degrees.

In all this coast the current runneth with great force, but never keepeth any certaine course, saving that it runneth alongst the coast, sometimes to the South-wards, sometimes to the North-wards; which now running to the North-wards, forced vs so fayre into the Bay (which a point of the land causeth, that they call *Punta*

Punta de Angofua.

de

de Anguſſa) as thinking to cleere our ſelues by roving North-weſt, wee could not double this point, making our way, North North-weſt. Therefore ſpeciall care is ever to bee had of the current: and doubtleſſe, if the providence of Almighty God had not freede vs, wee had runne aſhore vpon the Land, without ſeeing or ſuſpecting any ſuch danger; His name bee ever exalted and magnified, for delivering vs from the vnknowne daunger, by calming the winde all night: the Sunnes riſing manifeſted vnto vs our errour and perill, by diſcovering vnto vs the Land, within 2 leagues, right a head. The current had caried vs without any wind, at the leaſt 4. leagues; which ſeene, and the winde beginning to blow, wee brought our tackes abourd, and in ſhort time cleared our ſelues.

Thwart of this point of *Anguſſa*, lie two deſert Ilandes; they call them *Illas de Lobos*, for the the multitude of Seales, which accuſtome to haunt the ſhore. In the bigger is very good harbour, and ſecure; they lie in fixe Degrees and thirtie minutes.

The next day after, wee loſt ſight of thoſe Ilands, being thwart of *Payta*, which lyeth in fiue Degrees and having manned our Pinnace and Boate to ſearch the Port, wee had ſight of a tall ſhippe, which having knowledge of our being on the Coaſt, and thinking her ſelfe to be more ſafe at Sea, then in the harbour, put her ſelfe then vnder ſayle: to her wee gaue chaſe all that night, and the next day, but in fine being better of ſayle then wee, ſhee freed her ſelfe. Thus being too lee-ward of the Harbour, and diſcovered, we continued our courſe alongſt the ſhore. That Evening, wee were thwart of the River of *Guayaquill*, which hath in the mouth of it two Ilands: the Souther-moſt and biggeſt, called *Puna*, in three Degrees, and the other, to the North-wards, *Santa clara*.

Puna is inhabited, and is the place where they build their principall ſhipping; from this River, *Lima* and all the valleys are furniſhed with Timber, for they haue none but that which is brought from hence, or from the kingdome of *Chile*. By this River paſſeth the principall trade of the Kingdome of *Quito*, it is Navigable ſome leagues into the Land, and hath great abundance of Timber. *Puna.*

Thoſe of the *Peru*, vſe to ground and trim their ſhippes in *Puna*, or in *Panama*, and in all other parts they are forced to carene their ſhippes. In *Puna*, it higheth and falleth, fifteene or ſixteene foote water, and from this Iland, till a man come to *Panama*, in all the coaſt it ebbeth and flowerh more or leſſe, keeping the ordinarie courſe, which the Tides doe in all Seas. The water of this River, by experience, is medicinable, for all aches of the bones, for the

 ſtone,

ſtone, and ſtranguric; the reaſon which is given is, becauſe all the bankes, and low land adioyning to this River, are repleniſhed with *Salſaperillia*: which lying for the moſt part ſoaking in the water, it participateth of this vertue, and giveth it this force.

In this River, and all the Rivers of this coaſt, are great abundance of *Alagartoes*; and it is ſayd that this exceedeth the reſt, for perſons of credit haue certified mee, that as ſmall fiſhes in other Rivers abound in ſcoales, ſo the *Alagartoes* in this, they doe much hurt to the *Indians* and *Spaniards*, and are dreadfull to all whom they catch within their clutches.

SECT. LI.

SOne fiue or ſixe Leagues to the North-wards of *Puna*, is *la Punta de Santa Elena*; vnder which is good anchoring, cleane ground, and reaſonable ſuccour. Being thwart of this point, wee had ſight of a ſhippe, which we chaſed, but being of better ſaile then we, and the night commingon, we loſt ſight of her; and ſo anchored vnder the *Iſla de plata*; to recover our Pinnace and Boate, which had gone about the other point of the Iland, which lyeth in two Degrees, and fortie minutes.

Puerto viejo. The next day we paſt in ſight of *Puerto Viejo*, in two degrees ten minutes; which lying without ſhipping, wee directed our courſe for Cape *Paſſaos*. It lyeth directly vnder the Equinoctiall line; ſome foureſcore leagues to the weſt-wards of this Cape, lyeth a heape of Ilands, the Spaniards call *Illas de los Galapagos*; They are deſert and beare no fruite: from Cape *Paſſaos*, wee directed our courſe to Cape *Saint Franciſco*, which lyeth in one degree to the Northwardes of the lyne; and being thwart of it, wee deſcried a ſmall ſhippe, which wee chaſed all that day and night; and the next morning our Pinnace came to bourd her; but being a ſhippe of adviſe, and full of paſſengers, and our ſhippe not able to fetch her vp, they entreated our people badly, and freed themſelues, though the feare they conceived, cauſed them to caſt all the diſpatches of the King, as alſo of particulars into the ſea, with a great part of their loading, to bee lighter, and better of ſayle, for the ſhippes of the South Sea loade themſelues like lighters, or ſand barges, preſuming vpon the ſecuritie from ſtormes.

Sect. LII.

BEing out of hope to fetch vp this ſhippe, wee ſtoode in with the Cape, where the Land beginneth to trend about to the Eaſt-wards. The Cape is high land, and all covered over with Trees, and ſo is the land over the Cape, and all the coaſt (from this Cape to *Panama*) is full of wood, from the Straites of *Magelan*, to this cape of *San Franciſco*. In all the coaſt from head-land to head-land, the courſes lye betwixt the North and north and by weſt, and ſometimes more weſterly, and that but ſeldome: It is a bolde Coaſt, and ſubiect to little foule weather, or alteration of windes, for the Breſe, which is the ſowtherly wind, bloweth continually from *Balparizo* to Cape *San Franciſco*, except it be a great chance.

Trending about the Cape, wee haled in Eaſt North-eaſt, to fetch the Bay of *Atacames*, which lyeth ſome ſeaven Leagues from the Cape. In the mid way (ſome three leagues from the ſhore) lyeth a banke of ſand, whereof a man muſt haue a care; for in ſome parts of it, there is but little water.

The tenth of Iune, wee came to an anchor in the Bay of *Atacames*, which on the weſter part hath a round hammock. It ſeemeth an Iland, and in high ſpringes, I iudge, that the ſea goeth round about it. To the Eaſt-wards it hath a high ſandie cliffe, and in the middeſt of the Bay, a faire birth, from the ſhore lyeth a bigge black Rocke aboue water: from this Rocke, to the ſandie cliffe, is a drowned Marſh ground, cauſed by his lowneſſe; And a great River, which is broad, but of no depth.

Manning our boate, and running to the ſhore, we found preſently in the weſterne bight of the Bay, a deepe River, whoſe indraught was ſo great, that we could not benefit our ſelues of it, being brackiſh, except at a low water; which hindred our diſpatch, yet in fiue dayes, wee filled all our emptie Caske, ſupplied our want of wood, and grounded and put in order our Pinnace.

They diſmiſſe their *Indians*.

Here, for that our *Indians* ſerved vs to no other vſe, but to conſume our victuals, we eaſed our ſelues of them; gaue them hookes and lines which they craved, and ſome bread for a few dayes, and replanted them in a farre better countrey, then their owne, which fell out luckely for the Spaniards of the ſhippe which wee chaſed thwart of Cape *San Franciſco*; for victuals growing ſhort with her, having many mouthes, ſhee was forced to put a ſhore fiftie of her

passengers, neere the Cape; wherof more then the one halfe dyed with famine, and continual wading through Rivers and waters: the reſt (by chance) meeting with the *Indians*, which wee had put aſhore, with their fiſhing, guide, and induſtry were refreſhed, ſuſteyned, and brought to habitation.

Sect. LIII.

OVr neceſſary buſines being ended, wee purpoſed the fifteenth day of May, in the morning, to ſet ſayle, but the foureteenth in the Evening, we had ſight of a ſhippe, ſome three leagues to Sea wards; and through the importunitie of my Captaine and Companie, I condiſcended that our Pinnas ſhould giue her chaſe: which I ſhould not haue done, for it was our deſtruction; I gaue them preciſe order, that if they ſtood not in againe at night, they ſhould ſeeke mee at Cape *San Franciſco*, for the next morning I purpoſed to ſet ſayle without delay, and ſo ſeeing that our Pinnas ſlowed her comming, at nine of the clocke in the morning, wee weyed our Anchors, and ſtoode for the Cape; where wee beate off and on two dayes; and our Pinnas not appearing, wee ſtood againe into the Bay, where wee deſcried her, turning in without a maine Maſt, which ſtanding off to the Sea, cloſe by, with much winde, and a chapping Sea, bearing a taunt-ſayle, where a little was too much (being to ſmall purpoſe) ſodainely they bare it by the bourd; and ſtanding in with the ſhore, the winde, or rather God blinding them, for our puniſhment, they knewe not the land; and making themſelues to bee to wind-wards of the Bay, bare vp and were put into the Bay of *San Mathew*; It is a goodly Harbour, and hath a great freſh River, which higheth fifteene or ſixteene foote water, and is a good countrey, and well peopled with *Indidians*, they haue ſtore of Gold and Emeralds, heere the Spaniards from *Guayaquill*, made an habitation, whilſt I was priſoner in *Lyma*, by the *Indians* conſent; but after not able to ſuffer the inſolencies of their gueſts, and being a people of ſtomacke and preſumption, they ſuffered themſelues to bee perſwaded, and led by a *Molato*. This leader many yeares before had fled vnto them from the Spaniards, him they had, long time, held in reputation of their Captaine Generall, and was admitted alſo vnto a chiefe Office by the Spaniardes, to gaine him vnto them.

The *Indians* led by a *Molato*

But

But now the *Indians* vniting themſelues together, preſuming that by the helpe of this *Atolato*, they ſhould force the Spaniards out of the Countrey, put their reſolution in execution, droue their Enemies into the woods, and ſlue as many as they could lay hands on, ſome they killed, few eſcaped with life; and thoſe who had that good happe, ſuffered extreame miſery, before they came to *Quito*; the place of neereſt habitation of Spaniards.

To this Bay, aſſoone as our people in the Pynnas ſaw their errour, they brought their tackes abourd, and turned and tyded it vp, as they could. Aſſoone as we came to Anchor, I procured to remedie that was amiſſe; in two daies we diſpatched all we had to doe, and the next morning we reſolued to ſet ſayle and to leaue the coaſt of *Peru* and *Quito*.

The day appearing, we began to weigh our Anchors, and being a Pike ready to cut ſayle, one, out of the toppe, deſcryed the Spaniſh Armado, comming about the Cape: which by the courſe it kept, preſently gaue vs to vnderſtand, who they were: though my company (as is the cuſtome of Sea men,) made them to be the Fleete bound for *Panama*, loden with treaſure, and importuned, that in all haſt, we ſhould cut ſayle & ſtand with them, which I contradicted, for that, I was aſſured, that no ſhipping would ſtirre vpon the coaſt, till they had ſecuritie of our departure (except ſome Armado, that might be ſent to ſeeke vs,) and that it was not the time of the yeare to carry the treaſure to *Panama*. And beſides in Riding ſtill at an Anchor, they euer came neerer vnto vs, for they ſtood directly with vs, and we kept the weather gage; where if we had put our ſelues vnder ſayle (the ebbe in hand) we ſhould haue giuen them the aduantage, which we had in our power, by reaſon of the point of the Bay. And being the Armado (as it was) we gained time to fit our ſelues, the better to fight. And truly (as before, to a ſtiffe-necked horſe,) ſo now againe, I cannot but reſemble the condition of the Marriner to any thing better, then to the current of a furious Riuer, repreſſed by force or art, which neuertheleſſe ceaſeth not to ſeeke a way to ouerthrow both fence and banke. Euen ſo the common ſort of Sea-men, apprehending a conceite in their imaginations, neither experiment, knowledge, examples, reaſons nor authority can alter or remoove them from their conceited opinions. In this extremitie, with reaſon I laboured to conuince them, and to contradict their pretences; But they altogether without reaſon, or againſt reaſon, breake out, ſome into vaunting and bragging, ſome into reproaches of want of courage, others into wiſhings, that they had neuer come out of their coun-

Spaniſh Armado.

trey, if we ſhould refuſe to fight with two ſhippes whatſoeuer. And to mend the matter, the Gunner (for his part) aſſured me that with the firſt tire of ſhott: he would lay the one of them in the ſods: And our Pynace, that ſhe would take the other to taske. One promiſed, that he would cut downe the mayne yard, another that he would take their flagge; And all in generall ſhewed a great deſire to come to tryall with the enemy. To ſome I turned the deafe eare, with others I diſſembled, and armed my ſelfe with patience (hauing no other defence nor remedie for that occaſion) ſoothing and animating them to the execution of what they promiſed, and perſwaded them to haue a little ſufferance, ſeeing they gained time, and aduantage by it.

The vnadviſed courage of the multitude.

And to giue them better ſatisfaction I condiſcended, that our Captaine with a competent number of men, ſhould with our Pinnace goe to diſcouer them; with order, that they ſhould not engage themſelues in that manner, as they might not be able to come vnto vs, or we to ſuccour them. In all theſe diviſions and opinions, our Maſter *Hugh Dormiſh* (who was a moſt ſufficient man for gouernment and valour, and well ſaw the errors of the multitude) vſed his office, as became him; and ſo did all thoſe of beſt vnderſtanding.

In ſhort ſpace, our Pinnace diſcouered what they were, and caſting about to returne vnto vs, the Vice-admirall (being next her) began with her chace to ſalute her with three or foure peeces of Artilery, and ſo continued chaſing her, and gunning at her. My company ſeeing this, now began to change humour; And I, then, to encourage, and perſwade them to performe the execution of their promiſes and vaunts of valour, which they had but euen now proteſted, and giuen aſſurance of, by their proferres and forwardneſſe.

And that we might haue Sea-roome to fight, we preſently weighed Anchor, and ſtood off to Sea with all our ſayles, in hope to get the weather gage of our contraries. But the winde ſcanting with vs, and larging with them, we were forced to leeward. And the Admirall weathering vs, came rome vpon vs: which being within Muſket ſhott, we hayled firſt with our noiſe of Trumpets, then with our Waytes, and after with our Artilery: which they anſwered with Artilery; two for one. For they had double the Ordinance we had, and almoſt tenne men for one. Immediately they came ſhoring abourd of vs, vpon our lee quarter, contrary to our expectation, and the cuſtome of men of Warre. And doubtleſſe, had our Gunner beene the man he was reputed to be, and as the world ſould him to me, ſhee had receiued great hurt by that manner of bourding;

The beginning of the fight.

The inexperience of the *Spaniards*.

bourding: But contrary to all expectation, our ſtearne peeces were vnprimed, and ſo were all thoſe, which we had to leward (ſaue halfe one in the quarter) which diſcharged wrought that effect in our contraries as that they had fiue or ſixe foot water in hold, before they ſuſpected it. And careleſneſſe of the Engliſh.

Hereby all men are to take warning by me, not to truſt any man in ſuch extremities, when he himſelfe may ſee it done: and comming to fight, let the Chiefetaine himſelfe be ſure to haue all his Artilery in a readineſſe, vpon all occaſions. This was my ouerſight, this my ouerthrow. For I, and all my company, had that ſatisfaction of the ſufficiencie, and care of our Gunner, as not any one of vs euer imagined there would be any defect found in him. For my part, I, with the reſt of our Officers, occupied our ſelues in cleering our deckes, laceing our nettings, making of Bulwarkes, arming our toppes, fitting our waſt-cloathes, tallowing our pikes, ſlinging our yards, doubling our ſheetes, and tackes, placing and ordering our people, and procuring that they ſhould be well fitted and prouided of all things; leauing the Artilery, and other inſtruments of fire, to the Gunners diſpoſe and order, with the reſt of his Mates and adherents: which (as I ſaid) was part of our perdition. For bearing me euer in hand, that he had fiue hundred Cartreges in a readineſſe, within one houres fight, we were forced to occupie three perſons, only in making and filling Cartreges, and of five hundreth Elles of Canvas and other Cloth giuen him for that purpoſe, at ſundry times, not one yard was to be found. For this we have no excuſe, and therefore could not avoyde the danger, to charge and diſcharge with the ladell, eſpecially in ſo hotte a fight. And comming now to put in execution the ſinking of the ſhippe, as he promiſed, he ſeemed a man without life or ſoule. So the Admirall comming cloſe vnto vs, I my ſelfe, and the Maſter of our Shippe, were forced to play the Gunners. How farre a Commander is to truſt his officers.

Thoſe inſtruments of fire, wherein he made me to ſpend exceſſiuely (before our going to Sea) now appeared not; Neither the braſſe Balles of Artificiall fire, to be ſhott with ſlurbowes, (whereof I had ſix bowes, & two hundreth bals, and which are of great account & ſeruice, either by Sea or Land) he had ſtowed them in ſuch manner, (though in double barrels) as the ſalt water had ſpoyled the all; ſo that comming to vſe them, not one was ſerviceable. Some of our Company had him in ſuſpition, to be more friend to the Spaniards, then to vs; for that he had ſerved ſome yeares in the *Tercera*, as Gunner, and that he did all this of purpoſe. Few of our peeces were cleere, when we came to vſe them, and ſome had the Deceit of the Gunner, and his extreme careleſneſſe, and ſuſpitious diſloyalty.

ſhott firſt put in, and after the powder. Beſides, after our ſurrendry; it was laid to his charge, that he ſhould ſay; he had a brother that ſerved the King in the *Pera*, and that he thought he was in the Armado; and how he would not for all the world, he ſhould be ſlaine. Whether this were true or no, I know not, but I am ſure all in generall gave him an ill report, and that he, in whoſe hands the chiefe execution of the whole fight conſiſted, executed nothing as was promiſed and expected.

Admonitions for Commanders.

The griefe and remembrance of which overſights once againe inforceth me to admoniſh all Captaines and Commanders hereby to take aduice, now and then to ſurvey their officers and ſtore-roomes; the oftener, the better; that ſo their defects and wants may be ſupplied in time; Neuer relying too much vpon the vulgar report, nor giuing too much credite to ſmooth tongues and boaſting Companions. But to performe this taske, it is requiſite that all Captaines, and Commanders were ſuch, and ſo experimented in all offices, that they might be able as well to controule as to examine all manner of errors in officers. For the goverament at Sea hardly ſuffereth a head without exquiſite experience. The deficiency whereof hath occaſioned ſome ancient Sea-men, to ſtraighten the attribute of *Marriner* in ſuch ſort, as that it ought not to be giuen, but to the man, who is able to build his ſhippe, to fit and prouide her of all things neceſſary, and after to carry her about the world: the reſidue, to be but ſaylers. Hereby giuing vs to vnderſtand, that though it is not expedient, that he ſhould be an Axe-Carpenter, to hewe, cut, frame, and mould each timber piece, yet that he ſhould know the parts and peeces of the ſhippe, the value of the timber, planke and yron-worke, ſo to be able as well to build in proportion, as to procure all materials at a iuſt price. And againe though it be not expected, that he ſhould *ſewe* the ſayles, arme the ſhrowds, and put the tackling over head, yet is it requiſite that ſhould know how to cut his ſayles, what length is Competent to every Roape, and to be of ſufficiency to reprehend and reforme thoſe who erre, and doe amiſſe. In providing his ſhippe with victualls, munition and neceſſaries, of force it muſt be expected that he be able to make his eſtimate, and (that once provided, and perfected) in ſeaſon, and with expedition to ſee it loden and ſtowed commodiouſly, with care and proportion. After that, He is to order the ſpending thereof, that in nothing he be defrauded at home, and at Sea, euer to know, how much is ſpent, and what remaineth vnſpent.

Who to be accounted a true *Marriner*.

His knowledge for Materialls.

For proviſions.

For Navigation.

In the Art of Nauigation, he is bound alſo to know, ſo much, as

to be able to giue directions to the Pilote and Maſter; and conſequently to all the reſt of inferiour officers.

Sect. LIIII.

MY meaning is not that the Captaine (or Gouernour) ſhould be tyed to the actuall toyle, or to intermeddle with all offices, (for that were to binde him to impoſſibilities, to diminiſh and abaſe his authoritie, and to depriue the other officers of their eſteemes and of that that belongeth vnto them, which were a great abſurditie.) But my opinion is, that he ſhould be more then ſuperficially inſtructed and practiſed in the imployments. Yea I am verily perſwaded, that the more abſolute authoritie any Commander giveth to his vnder officers, being worthy of it, the ſweeter is the Command, and the more reſpected and beloued the Commander.

Office of the Maſter. For in matter of guide and diſpoſing of the Saylers, with the tackling of the Shippe, and the workes which belong thereunto, within bourd and without, all is to be committed to the Maſters charge.

Office of the Pilot. The Pilote is to looke carefully to the Sterridge of the Shippe, to be watchfull in taking the heights of Sunne and Starre; to note the way of his Shippe, with the augmenting and leſſening of the winde, &c.

The Bote-ſwaine. The Boateſwayne is to ſee his Shippe kept cleane; his Maſtes, yards and tacklings well coated, matted and armed; his ſhroudes and ſtayes well ſet; his ſayles repayred, and ſufficiently prevented with martnets, blayles, and Caskettes; his boate fitted with Sayle, Oares, thougts, tholes danyd, windles and rother; His Anchors well boyed, ſafely ſtopped and ſecured, with the reſt to him appertaining.

The Steward The Steward is to ſee the preſervation of Vittayles and neceſſaries, committed vnto his charge; and by meaſure and weight, to deliuer the portions appointed, and with diſcretion and good tearmes, to giue ſatisfaction to all.

The Carpenter. The Carpenter is to veiw the maſtes and yards, the ſides of the Shippe, her deckes and cabines; her pumpes and boate; and moreouer to occupie himſelfe in the moſt forceible workes, except he be otherwiſe commanded.

The Gunner. The Gunner is to care for the britching and tackling of his Artilery; the fitting of his shott, Tampkins, coynes, crones and linstockes, &c. To be provident in working his fire workes, in making and filling his Cartreges; in accommodating his ladles, sponges and other necessaries; in sifting and drying his powder; in cleaning the armes, munition, and such like workes, intrusted vnto him.

In this manner every officer, in his office, ought to be an absolute Commander, yet readie in obedience and loue, to sacrifice his will to his superiours command: This cannot but cause vnitie; and vnitie cannot but purchase a happie issue to dutifull trauelles.

Directions in secret. Lastly, except it be in vrgent and precise cases, the Head should neuer direct his command to any, but the officers, and these secretly, except the occasion require publication; or that, it touch all in generall.

Such orders would be (for the most part) in writing, that all might know what in generall is commanded and required.

SECT. LV.

Parts requisite in a good husbandman. AND as the wise husband-man, in walking from ground to ground, beholdeth one plowing; another harrowing; another sowing; and lopping; another pruning; one hedging; another threshing; and divers occupied in severall labours: Some he commendeth, others he reproacheth; others he adviseth; and to another he saith nothing, (for that he seeth him in the right way: and all this; for that he knoweth and vnderstandeth what they all doe, better then they themselues, though busied in their ordinary workes:) euen so, a worthy Commander at Sea, ought to haue the eyes, not only of his body, but also of his vnderstanding, continually, set (with watchfull care) vpon all men, and all their workes vnder his charge; imitating the wise husband-man; first to know, and then to command; and lastly, to will their obedience voluntary, and without contradiction. For who knoweth not that ignorance many times commandeth that, which it vnderstandeth not; which the Artist perceiving, first disdaineth, afterwards disfeemeth, and finally in these great actions, which admit no temporizing, either he wayueth the respect of dutie, or faintly performeth the beheft of his superiour, vpon euery slight occasion, either in

The like in a good Chiefetaine.

publike

publike oppoſing, or in private murmuring: the ſmalleſt of which, is moſt pernicious, Thus much (not amiſſe) for Inſtruction.

SECT. LVI.

THe reaſon why the Admirall came to leewardes, (as after I vnderſtood) was for that her Artillery being very long, and the wind freſh, bearing a taunt ſayle, to fetch vs vp, and to keepe vs company, they could not vſe their Ordinance to the weather of vs, but lay ſhaking in the wind: And doubtleſſe, it is moſt proper for ſhippes, to haue ſhort Ordinance, except in the ſterne or chaſe. The reaſons are many: *viz.* eaſier charging, eaſe of the ſhippes ſide, better traverſing, and mounting, yea, greater ſecurity of the Artillery, and conſequently of the ſhip. For the longer the peece is, the greater is the retention of the fire, and ſo the torment and danger of the peece the greater.

Why the *Spaniſh* Admirall came to leewards.

But here will be contradiction by many, that dare avouch that longer peeces are to be preferred; for that they burne their powder better, and carrie the ſhott further, and ſo neceſſarily of better execution; whereas the ſhort Artillery many times ſpends much of their powder without burning, and workes thereby the ſlenderer effect.

To which I anſwere, that for Land ſervice, Fortes, or Caſtles, the long peeces are to bee preferred; but for ſhipping, the ſhorter are much more ſerviceable. And the powder in them, being ſuch as it ought, will be all fiered long before the ſhott can come forth; and to reach farre in fights at ſea, is to little effect: For hee that purpoſeth to annoy his Enemie, muſt not ſhoote at randome, nor at point blanke, if hee purpoſe to accompliſh with his devoire, nether muſt he ſpend his ſhott, nor powder, but where a pot-gun may reach his contrary; how much the neerer, ſo much the better: and this duely executed, the ſhort Artillery will worke its effect, as well as the long; otherwiſe, neither ſhort, nor long are of much importance: but here, my meaning is not, to approue the overſhort peeces, deviſed by ſome perſons, which at every ſhott they make, daunce out of their cariages, but thoſe of indifferent length, and which keepe the meane, betwixt ſeaven and eight foote.

SECT. XLVII.

Intertainment of Spaniards.

THe entertainement wee gaue vnto our contraries, being otherwiſe then was expected, they fell off, & ranged a head, having broken in peeces all our gallerie: and preſently they caſt about vpon vs, and being able to keepe vs company, with their fighting layles lay a weather of vs, ordinarily within Musket ſhott; playing continually with them and their great Artillerie; which we endured, and anſwered as we could.

Our Pinnace engaged her ſelfe ſo farre, as that before ſhee could come vnto vs, the Vice-admirall had like to cut her off, and comming to lay vs aboord, and to enter her men, the Vice-admirall boorded with her: ſo that ſome of our company entred our ſhip over her bow-ſprit, as they themſelues reported.

We were not a little comforted with the ſight of our people in ſafetie, within our ſhippe, for in all, wee were but threeſcore and fifteene, men, and boyes, when we began to fight, and our Enemies thirteene hundred men and boyes; little more or leſſe, and thoſe of the choiſe of *Peru*.

The Engliſh, 75.
The Spaniards, 1300.

SECT. LVIII.

The Spaniſh diſcipline.

HEere it ſhall not be out of the way, to diſcourſe a little of the Spaniſh Diſcipline, and manner of their governement in generall; which is in many things different to ours. In this expedition came two Generals, the one *Don Beltran de Caſtro*, who had the abſolute authoritie and commaund: The other *Michael Angell Filipon*, a man well in yeares, and came to this preferment by his long and painefull ſervice, who though he had the title of Generall by ſea, I thinke it was rather of courteſie then by Pattent; and for that hee had beene many yeares Generall of the ſouth Sea, for the carriage and waſtage of the ſilver from *Lyma* to *Panama*; Hee ſeemed to bee an aſſiſtant, to ſupply that with his counſell, advice, and experience, whereof *Don Beltran* had never made tryall (for hee commanded not abſolutely, but with the confirmation of *Don*

Beltran

Beltran) for the Spaniards neuer giue abſolute authoritie to more then one. A cuſtome that hath beene, and is approoued in all Empires, Kingdomes, Common-wealthes, and Armies, rightly diſciplined: the mixture hath been ſeldome ſeene to proſper, as will manifeſtly appeare, if we conſider the iſſue of all actions and iourneys committed to the government of two, or more generally.

The famous victory of *Hannibal* againſt the Romane Conſuls *Paulus Emillius* and *Terrentius Varro*, was attributed to their equality of government. The vnhappie ouerthrow, giuen by the Turke *Amurate* to the Chriſtian Princes, in the Iourney of *Nicapolis*, is held to haue proceeded from the difference betwixt the Heads; euery one leaning to his owne opinion. The ouerthrow in recouerie of the Holy land, vndertaken by King *Richard of England*, and King *Philip of France*, ſprang from the like differences and diſſentions. The victory of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, againſt the Proteſtant Princes of *Germanie*, is imputed to their diſtractures ariſing from parity in command. If we looke into our owne actions, committed to the charge of two *Generals*, ths effects and fruits which they haue brought forth, (for the moſt part,) will be found to be little better: yea, moſt of them through emulation, envie and pride, overthrowne, and brought to nought; though to couer their confuſions, there haue neuer beene wanting cloakes and colours. The moſt approoved writers reproue, and call it a monſter with two heads, and not without reaſon. For if the Monarchy be generally approoued, for ſtrongeſt, ſoundeſt, and moſt perfect, and moſt ſufficient to ſuſtaine it ſelfe; And the Democracie and Ariſtocracie, vtterly reproued, as weake, feeble and ſubiect to innovations and infirmities; it cannot be but errour, confuſion, and imperfection to differ or diſſent from it. For where the ſupreame government is divided betwixt two or more, the Authoritie is diminiſhed, and ſo looſeth his true force, as a fagget of ſtickes, whoſe bond being broken, the entire ſtrength is eaſily diſſolued: but all vnder correction.

Two Chiefetaines ioyned in Commiſſion dangerous.

The Spaniards in their Armadoes by Sea, imitate the diſcipline, order and officers, which are in an Army by land, and divide themſelues into three bodies; to wit Souldiers, Marriners and Gunners.

Their Souldiers, ward and watch, and their officers in euery Shippe round, as if they were on the ſhoare; this is the only taske they vndergoe, except cleaning their Armes, wherein they are not ouercurious. The Gunners are exempted from all labour and care, except about the Artillery.

The Souldier.

The Gunner.

The Marriner.

And these are either *Almaynes*, *Flemmings*, or strangers; for the Spaniards are but indifferently practised in this Art. The Marriners are but as slaues to the rest, to moyle and to toyle, day and night, and those but few and bad, and not suffered to sleepe, or harbour themselues, vnder the deckes. For in faire or fowle weather, in stormes, sunne or raine, they must passe voyde of couert or succour.

Officers in a shippe of War.

Captaine of the shippe.

Captaine of the Souldiers.

There is ordinarily in every shippe of Warre, a Captaine; whose charge is, as that of our Masters with vs, and also a Captaine of the Souldiers, who commandeth the Captaine of the Shippe, the Souldiers, Gunners and Marriners in her; yea, though there be diuers Captaines, with their companies in one shippe, (which is vsuall amongst them,) yet one hath the supreme authoritie, and the residue are at his ordering and disposing. They haue their *Maestros de Campo*, Seargeant, Master, Generall (or Captaine) of the Artillery, with their Alfere Maior, and all other officers, as in a Campe.

Mr. *Del Campo*, &c.

If they come to fight with another Armado, they order themselues as in a battell by land; In a Vanguard, rereward, maine battell, and wings, &c. In every particular shippe the souldiers are set all vpon the deckes; their forecastle they account their head Front, or Vangard of their company; that abast the Mast, the rereward; and the waste, the mayne battell; wherein they place their principall force, and on which they principally relye; which they call their *plaça de armas* or place of Armes: which taken, their hope is lost.

The Gunners fight not, but with their great Artillery: the Marriners attend only to the tackling of the shippe, and handling of the sayles; and are vnarmed, and subiect to all misfortunes; not permitted to shelter themselues, but to be still aloft, whether it be necessary or needlesse. So ordinarily, those which first sayle, are the Marriners and Saylors; of which they haue greatest neede. They vse few close fights or fireworkes; and all this proceedeth (as I iudge) of errour in placing land Captaines, for Goverhours and Commanders by Sea; where they seldome vnderstand what is to be done or commanded.

Prying of the Spaniards Into our Discipline.

Some that haue beene our prisoners, haue perfited themselues of that, they haue seene amongst vs: and others disguised, vnder colour of treaties, for ransoming of prisoners, for bringing of presents, and other Imbassages, haue noted our forme of shipping, our manner of defences, and discipline: Sithence which espiall, in such actions as they haue beene imployed in, they seeke to imitate our gouerment, and reformed discipline at Sea: which

Their imitation of our discipline.

doubt-

doubtleſſe is the beſt, and moſt proper, that is at this day knowne, or practiſed in the whole world, if the execution be anſwerable to that which is knowne and receiued for true and good amongſt vs.

In the Captaine (for ſo the Spaniards call their Admirall) was an Engliſh Gunner, who to gaine grace with thoſe vnder whom hee ſerued, preferred himſelfe, and offered to ſinke our ſhippe with the firſt ſhott he made: who, by the Spaniards relation, being traueſing of a peece in the bowe, to make his ſhott, had his head carryed away with the firſt, or ſecond ſhott, made out of our ſhippe. It ſlew alſo two or three of thoſe which ſtood next him.

Which may be a good and gentle warning for all thoſe, who mooued either with couetouſneſſe, or with deſire of reuenge, or in hope of worldly promotion, or other reſpect whatſoeuer; doe willingly and voluntarily ſerue the enemie, againſt their owne nation: *nulla cauſa iuſta videri poteſt, adverſus patriam arma capiendi.*

And if we conſider the end of thoſe, who haue thus erred, wee ſhall finde them for the moſt part lamentable, and moſt miſerable. At the leaſt, thoſe whom I haue knowne, haue liued to be pointed at, with deteſtation, and ended their liues in beggery, voyde of reputation. The ends of Fugitiues.

SECT. LIX.

THE fight continued ſo hott on both ſides, that the Artillery and Muſkets neuer ceaſed playing. Our contraries, towards the euening, determined the third time to lay vs abourd, with reſolution to take vs, or to hazard all. The order they ſet downe for the execution hereof, was, that the Captaine (or Admirall) ſhould bring himſelfe vppon our weather bowe, and ſo fall abourd of vs, vpon our broade ſide: And that the Viceadmirall, ſhould lay his Admirall abourd vppon his weather quarter, and ſo enter his men into her; that from her, they might enter vs, or doe as occaſion ſhould miniſter.

The Captaine of the Viceadmirall, being more hardy then conſiderate, and preſuming with his ſhippe and company to get the price, and chiefe honour; wayted not the time to put in execution the direction giuen, but preſently came abourd to wind-wards vpon our broad ſide. Which doubtleſſe was the great and eſpeciall providence of Almightie God, for the diſcouraging of our enemies The Spaniards pay deerely for their raſhneſſe.

mies, and animating of vs. For although ſhee was as long, or rather longer then our ſhippe, being rarely built, and vtterly without fights or defence; what with our Muskets, and what with our fireworks we cleered her deckes in a moment; ſo that ſcarce any perſon appeared. And doubtleſſe if we had entred but a dozen men, we might haue enforced them to haue rendred vnto vs, or taken her, but our company being few, and the principall of them ſlaine, or hurt, we durſt not, neither was it wiſedome, to aduenture the ſeparation of thoſe, which remained: and ſo held that for the beſt and ſoundeſt reſolution, to keepe our forces together in defence of our owne.

The Viceadmirall ſeeing himſelfe in great diſtreſſe, called to his Admirall for ſuccour: who preſently laid him abourd, and entred a hundreth of his men, and ſo cleered themſelues of vs.

In this bourding the Viceadmirall had at the leaſt thirtie and ſixe men hurt, and ſlaine; and amongſt them his Pilote ſhot through the body, ſo as he dyed preſently. And the Admirall alſo receiued ſome loſſe; which wrought in them a new reſolution; only with their Artillery to batter vs; and ſo with time to force vs to ſurrender, or to ſinke vs; which they put in execution; and placing themſelues within a Musket ſhott of our weather quarter, and ſometimes on our broad ſide, lay continually beating vpon vs without intermiſſion; which was doubtleſſe the beſt and ſecureſt determination they could take, for they being rare ſhippes, and without any manner of cloſe fights, in bourding with vs, their men were all open vnto vs, and we vnder couert and ſhelter. For on all parts our ſhippe was Musket free, and the great Artillery of force muſt ceaſe on either ſide (the ſhippes being once grapled together) except we reſolued to ſacrifice our ſelues together in fire. For it is impoſſible, if the great Ordinance play (the ſhippes being bourded) but that they muſt ſet fire on the ſhippe they ſhoote at; and then no ſurety can be had to free himſelfe, as experience daily confirmeth. For a peece of Artillery moſt properly reſembleth a thunderclap, which breaking vpwards, or on the ſide, hurteth not; for that the fire hath ſcope to diſpence it ſelfe without finding reſiſtance, till the violence which forceth it taketh end, and ſo it mounts to its center: but breaking downe right or ſtooping downwards, and finding reſiſtance or impediment (before the violence that forceth it take end, being ſo ſubtill and penetrable a ſubſtance), paſſeth and pierceth ſo wonderfully, as it leaueth the effect of his execution in all points anſwerable to his leuell and nighneſſe. For if the clouds be nigh the earth (as ſome are higher, ſome lower) and

And take a new reſolution

breake

breake down-wards, the violence wherewith the fire breaketh out is ſuch, and of ſo ſtrange an execution, that men haue beene found dead, without any outward ſigne in their fleſh, and yet all their bones burnt to duſt. So the blade of the ſword hath beene found broken all to peeces in the ſcabard, and the ſcabard whole without blemiſh: And a criſtall glaſſe all ſhiuered in peeces, his couer and caſe remaining ſound, which commeth to paſſe, for that in the fleſh, in the ſcabard, and in the caſe, the fire being ſo ſubtile of nature, findeth eaſie paſſage without reſiſtance, but the bones, the blade, the Criſtall, being of ſubſtance more ſolide, maketh greater reſiſtance, and ſo the fire with the more fury worketh the more his execution in its obiects. As was ſeene in the Spaniſh Admirall (or Captaine) after my impriſonment, croſſing from *Panama* to Cape *ſan Franciſco*, a Rayo (for ſo the Spaniards call a thunderclappe) brake ouer our ſhippe, killed one in the fore-toppe, aſtoniſhed either two or three in the ſhroudes, and ſplit the Maſt in ſtrange manner; where it entred, it could hardly be deſcerned, but where it came forth, it draue out a great ſplinter before it; and the man ſlaine, was cleane in a manner without ſigne or token of hurt, although all his bones turned to powder, and thoſe who liued, and recouered, had all their bodies blacke, as burnt with fire, which plainly declareth and confirmeth that aboue ſaid, and may ſerue to iudge in ſuch occaſions of perſons hurt with thunder: for if they complaine of their bones, and haue little ſigne of the fire, their hazard of death is the greater, then when the fire hath left greater impreſſions outward. The fire out of a cloude worketh like effect only, where it leveleth directly, as experience daily teacheth; killing thoſe who are oppoſite, hurting thoſe who are neere, And only terrifying thoſe who are further diſtant.

In like manner the peece of Ordinance hurteth not thoſe which ſtand aſide, nor thoſe which ſtand a ſlope from his mouth, but thoſe alone which ſtand directly againſt the true point of his levell: though ſometimes the winde of the ſhott ouerthroweth one, and the ſplinters (being accidents) mayne and hurt others. But principally where the peece doth reſemble the thunderclappe, as when the ſhippes are bourded. For then, although the Artillery be diſcharged without ſhott, the fury of the fire, and his piercing nature is ſuch, as it entreth by the ſeames, and all parts of the ſhips ſides, and meeting with ſo fit matter as Pitch, Tarre, Ocombe, and ſometimes with powder, preſently conuerteth all into flames.

For auoyding whereof, as alſo the danger and damage which

may come by pikes and other inventions of fire, and if any ſhippe be oppreſſed with many ſhippes at once, and ſubiect by them to be bourded; I hold it a good courſe to ſtrike his fire and mayne yards cloſe to his decke, and to fight with ſprit-ſaile, and myſon, and top-ſayles looſe: ſo ſhall he be able to hinder them from oppreſſing him.

Pollicies to a voyde bourdings.

Some haue thought it a good pollicy to launce out ſome ends of Maſtes or yards by the ports or other parts: but this is to be vſed in the greater ſhippes, for in the leſſer, though they be neuer ſo ſtrong, the waight of the bigger will beate out the oppoſite ſides, and doe hurt, and make great ſpoyle in the leſſer. And in bourding, ordinarily the leſſer ſhippe hath all the harme, which the one ſhippe can doe vnto the other.

Here is offered to ſpeake of a point much canvaſſed amongſt Carpenters, and Sea Captaines, diverſly maintained, but yet vndetermined: that is, whether the race or loftie built ſhippe, bee beſt for the Merchant, and thoſe which imploy themſelues in trading: I am of opinion, that the race ſhippe is moſt conuenient; yet ſo, as that every perfect ſhippe ought to haue two deckes, for the better ſtrengthening of her; the better ſuccouring of her people; the better preſeruing of her Merchandize and victuall, and for her greater ſafetie from ſea and ſtormes.

Diſpute concerning ſhips of Trade.

But for the Princes ſhippes, and ſuch as are imployed continually in the warres, to be built loftie I hold very neceſſary for many reaſons. Firſt for Maieſtie and terrour of the enemy; ſecondly, for harbouring of many men; thirdly for accommodating more men to fight; fourthly, for placing and vſing more Artillery; fiftly, for better ſtrengthening and ſecuring of the ſhippe, ſixtly for ouertopping and ſubiecting the enemy; ſeuenthly, for greater ſafegard and defence of the ſhip and company. For it is plaine, that the ſhip with three deckes, or with two and a halfe, ſhewes more pomp then another of her burthen with a decke and halfe, or two deckes, and breedeth greater terror to the enemy, diſcouering her ſelfe to be a more powerfull ſhip as ſhe is, then the other; which being indeed a ſhip of force, ſeemeth to be but a Barke, and with her low building hideth her burthen. And who doubteth, that a decke and a halfe cannot harbour that proportion of men, that two deckes, and two deckes and a halfe can accommodate to fight; Nor carry the Artillery ſo plentifully, nor ſo commodiouſly. Neither can the ſhip be ſo ſtrong with a decke and a halfe, as with two deckes; nor with two, as with three; nor carry her Maſtes ſo taunt; nor ſpread ſo great a clue; nor contriue ſo many fightes, to anſwer

Concerning the Prince his ſhippes.

one

one another, for defence and offence. And the aduantage the one hath of the other, experience daily teacheth.

In the great expedition of eightie eight, did not the *Elizabeth Ionas*, the *Triumph*, and the *Beare*, ſhew greater maieſtie then the *Arke Royall* and the *Victorie*, being of equall burthens? did they not cauſe greater regard in the enemy? did they not harbour and accommodate more then men? and much better? did they not beare more Artillery? And if they had come to boord with the Spaniſh high-charged ſhips, it is not to be doubted but they would haue muſtred themſelues better, then thoſe which could not with their proweſſe nor props, haue reached to their waſtes. The ſtrength of the one cannot be compared with the ſtrength of the other: but in bourding, it goeth not ſo much in the ſtrength, as in weight and greatneſſe. For the greater ſhip that bourdeth with the leſſer; with her Maſtes, her Yards, her Tacklings, her Anchors, her Ordinance, and with her ſides bruſeth and beateth the leſſer to peeces, although the leſſer be farre ſtronger according to proportion.

All ſhips of warre are not to be low built

The *Fore-ſight* of his Maieſties, and the *Daintie*, were ſhippes in their proportions farre more ſtronger, then the Carake which was taken by them, and their conſorts, *Anno* 92. (For ſhe had in a manner no ſtrong building nor binding, and the others were ſtrengthened and bound, as art was able to affoord;) and yet both bourding with her, were ſo bruſed, broken, and badly handled, as they had like to haue ſunke by her ſide, though bourding with aduantage to weather-wards of her. But what would haue become of them, if ſhe ſhould haue had the wind of them, and haue come aboord to windward of them? In ſmall time no doubt, ſhe would haue beaten them vnder water.

An. 90. in the fleet vnder the charge of S^r *Iohn Hawkins* my father, coming from the South-wards, the *Hope* of his Maieſties gaue chaſe to a French ſhip, thinking her to be a Spaniard. She thought to haue freed her ſelfe by her ſailing, and ſo would not auaile, but endured the *ſhooting* of many peeces, and forced the *Hope* to lay her aboard; of which iſſued that miſchiefe which before I ſpake off. For in a moment the French ſhip had all her Maſtes, Yards, and Sailes in the Sea; and with great difficultie the *Hope* could free her ſelfe from ſinking her.

In the ſelfe ſame voyage, neere the Ilands of *Flores* and *Corvo*, the *Rain-bow* and the *Fore-ſight* came foule one of another, the *Raine-bow* (being the greater ſhippe) left the *Fore-ſight* much torne; and if God had not beene pleaſed to ſeperate them, the leſſer

(doubtleſſe) had ſunke in the Sea: but in theſe incounters, they received little or no hurt. The boording of the *Raine-bow* and *Fore-ſight*, (as I was enformed) proceeded of the obſtinacie and ſelfe will of the Captaine or Maſter of the *Fore-ſight*, who would not ſet Sayle in time, to giue Sea-roome to the other, comming driuing vpon her, for that ſhee was more florie. This pride I haue ſeene many times to be the cauſe of great hurt, and is worthy of ſeuere puniſhment: for being all of one Company, and bound euery one to helpe and further the good of the other, as members of one bodie, their ought to be no ſtrayning of courteſie, but all are bound to ſuppreſſe emulation and particular reſpect, in ſeeking the generall good of all, yea of euery particular more ingeniouſly, then that of his owne.

Perticular reſpects muſt giue place to the Generall.

But in equitie and reaſon, the le-ward ſhippe ought euer to giue way to the weather moſt, in hulling, or trying, without any exception. Firſt, for that ſhee *aduantageth* the other in hulling or trying: which is manifeſt, for that ſhee to wind-wards driues vpon her to le-wards. Secondly, for that the windermoſt ſhippe, by opening her ſayle, may be vpon the other before ſhee be looked for, either for want of ſteeridge, not being vnder way, or by the rowling of the Sea, ſome one Sea caſting the ſhippe more to le-wards then ten others. And thirdly, for that the windermoſt ſhippe being neere, and ſetting ſayle, is in poſſibilitie to take away the winde from her to le-wards comming within danger. And this by way of Argument, for a hull and vnder-ſayle in ſtormes and fayre weather, in Harbour, or at Sea.

Humanitie and courteſie are euer commendable and beneficiall to all, whereas arrogancie and ambition are euer accompanied with ſhame, loſſe and repentance.

Arrogancy of a Spaniſh Generall.

And though in many examples (touching this point) I haue beene an eye witneſſe, yet I will record but one, which I ſaw in the Riuer of *Ciuill*, at my comming out of the *Indies* amongſt the Galleons loaden with ſiluer. For their wafting, the King ſent to the *Tereera*, eight new Galleons, vnder the charge of *Villa viciosa*: who entring the Barre of *Saint Luar* ioyntly, the ſhippes loaden with ſiluer Anchored in the middeſt of the Riuer in the deepeſt water, and the wafters on either ſide, neere the ſhoare. The Admirall of the wafters rode cloſe by the Galleon, in which I was, and had mored her ſelfe in that manner, as her ſtreame, Cable, and Anchor overlayed our land-moſt. And winding vp with the firſt of the flood, ſhee her ſelfe in one of her Cables; which together with the great currant of the ebbe, and force of the winde which blew freſh, cauſed

ſed her to driue, and to dragge home her Anchors; and with that which over-lay ours, to cauſe vs to doe the like. Whereupon on both ſides, was crying out, to veere cable: we for our part had loſt all our Cables in the *Terceras*, ſauing thoſe which were a ground, and thoſe very ſhort, and vered to the better end. The Admirall ſtrained courteſie, thinking the other (though loaden with ſiluer) bound to let ſlippe one, ſo to giue him way; and the Generall ſtanding in his Gallery, ſaw the danger which both ſhippes ranne into, being in a manner bourd and bourd, and driuing vpon the point of the ſhoare: yet he commanded to hold faſt, and not to vere Cable, till he was required and commanded in the Kings name, by the Captaine of our ſhippe; proteſting, the damage (which ſhould enſue thereof, to the King and Merchants) to runne vpon the Admirals accompt; and that in his ſhippe he had no other Cable, but thoſe which were aground; And that they had vered aſ-much as they could: which the Generall knowing, and at laſt better conſidering, willed to vere his Cable end for end, and ſo with ſome difficultie and diſpute, the punto was remedied, which if he had done at firſt, he had preuented all other danger, inconuenience, and diſpute, by only weighing of his Cable and Anchor; after the guſt was paſt, and letting it fall in a place more commodious: whereas his vaine-glory, ſtoutneſſe, and ſelfe-will, had put in great perill two of the Kings ſhippes, and in them aboue two Millions of treaſure. And it may be, if he had beene one of the ignorant Generals, (ſuch as are ſometimes imployed) whereas he was one of beſt experience, I doubt not, but they would haue ſtood ſo much vpon their puntos, as rather then they would haue conſented to vere theyr Cables, (for that it ſeemed a diminution of authoritie,) they would rather haue ſuffered all to goe to wracke, without diſcerning the danger and damage.

But to returne to my former point of aduantage, which the greater ſhippe hath of the leſſer; I would haue it to be vnderſtood according to occaſion, and to be vnderſtood of ſhips of warre, with ſhippes of warre: It being no part of my meaning to maintaine, that a ſmall man of warre, ſhould not bourd with a great ſhippe, which goeth in trade. For I know, that the war-like ſhippe, that ſeeketh, is not only bound to bourd with a greater, but were ſhee ſure to hazzard her ſelfe, ſhee ought to bourd where any poſſibility of ſurpriſing may be hoped for. Witneſſe the Biſcaine ſhippes of fiue hundreth tunnes, taken by ſhippes of leſſe then a hundreth; Such were thoſe which were taken by Captaine *George Reymond*, and Captaine *Greenfield Halſe*; both wonne by bourding and

Doubts and obiections reſolued.

And the duty of a ſmall ſhip againſt a greater.

force of Armes. And did not *Markes Berry* with a shippe of foure-score tunnes, by bourding and dent of sword, take a shippe, which came from the *Nova Hispania* of neere foure hundreth tunnes? to recount all such as haue beene in this sort taken by our Countreymen, as also those of great worth which they haue lost, for not hazarding the bourding, were neuer to make an end.

Yet discretion is euer to be vsed: for a man that in a small barke goeth to warre-fare is not bound to bourd with a Carake, nor with a shippe, which he seeth prouided with Artillery and other preuentions farre aboue his possibilitie.

Vain-glory of the *Spanish*.

The Spaniards confesse vs to aduantage them in our shipping, and attribute all our victories to that which is but a masse of dead wood, were it not managed and ordered by Art and experience, affirming; that if we came to handie strokes and bourding, they should goe farre beyond vs, which to any person of reasonable vnderstanding, cannot but seeme most vaine-glorious; for we leaue not to bourd with them vpon occasion, when otherwise we cannot force them to surrender, but I conclude it to be great errour, and want of discretion in any man, to put himselfe, his shippe, and company in perill, being able otherwise to vanquish his enemy.

This imagination so vaine, and voyde of ground, hath growne from the ignorance of some of our common sort of Marriners, and vulgar people, which haue beene prisoners in *Spaine*: Who being examined and asked, why her Maiesties shippes in occasions bourd not? haue answered, and enformed; That it is the expresse order of her Maiestie and Counsell; in no case to hazard her shippes by bourding: yea I haue knowne some Captaines of our owne, (to colour their faint proceedings) haue auerred as much, which is nothing so. For in the houre, that her Maiestie, or Counsell committeth the charge of any her shippes to any person, it is left to his discretion to bourd, or not to bourd, as the reason of seruice requireth. And therefore let no man hereafter pretend ignorance, nor for this vanitie leaue to doe his duty, or that which is most probable to redound to the honour and seruice of his Prince and Countrey, and to the damage of his enemy. For in case, he excuse himselfe with this allegation, it cannot but redound to his condemnation and disreputation; And I assure all men, that in any reasonable equalitie of shipping, we cannot desire greater aduantage, then we haue of the Spaniards, by bourding. The reasons why, I hold it not conuenient to discourse in particular, but experience and tract of time, with that which I haue seene amongst them, hath taught me this knowledge; and those who

haue

haue ſeene their diſcipline, and ours, cannot but teſtifie the ſame.

SECT. LX.

AGaine, all that which hath beene ſpoken of the danger of the Artillery in bourding, is not to be wreſted, nor interpreted, to cut of vtterly the vſe of all Artillery, after bourding, but rather I hold nothing more conuenient in ſhippes of warre, then fowlers and great baſes in the cage workes, and Murderers in the Cobridge heads; for that their execution and ſpeedie charging and diſcharging, is of great moment. Courſes for Artillery after bourding.

Many I know haue left the vſe of them, and of ſundry other preuentions, as of ſherehookes, ſtones in their toppes, and arming them; Pikebolts in their wales and diuers other engines of Antiquitie. But vpon what inducement, I cannot relate, vnleſſe it be becauſe they neuer knew their effects and benefit; and may no doubt be vſed without the inconueniences before mentioned in great Ordinance. As alſo ſuch may be the occaſion, that without danger ſome of the great Artillery may be vſed, and that with great effect, which is in the diſcretion of the Commanders and their Gunners, as hath beene formerly ſeene and daily is experimented in the *Reuenge* of her Maieſties, good experience was made; who ſunke two of the Spaniſh Armado lying abourd her. Diſuſe of enginces of Antiquitie.

SECT. LXI.

IN theſe bourdings, and Skirmiſhes, diuers of our men were ſlaine, and many hurt, and my ſelfe amongſt them receiued ſixe wounds; one of them in the necke very perillous; another through the arme periſhing the bone, and cutting the *ſinewes* cloſe by the Arme-pit; the reſt not ſo dangerous. The Maſter of our ſhippe had one of his eyes, his noſe, and halfe his face ſhott away. Maſter *Henry Courton* was ſlaine; on theſe two, I principally relyed for the proſecution of our voyage, if God by ſickneſſe, or otherwiſe, ſhould take me away.

The

The Spaniards parley.

The Spaniards with their great Ordinance lay continually playing vpon vs, and now and then parled and inuited vs to *surrender* our ſelues *a Buena Querra*. The Captaine of our ſhippe, in whoſe direction and guide, our liues, our honour, and welfare now remained; ſeeing many of our people wounded and ſlaine, and that few were left to ſuſtaine, and maintaine the fight, or to reſiſt the entry of the enemy (if he ſhould againe bourd with vs) and that our contraries offered vs good partido: came vnto me accompanied with ſome others, and began to relate the ſtate of our ſhippe, and how that many were hurt, and ſlaine, and ſcarce any men appeared to trauerſe the Artillery, or to oppoſe themſelues for defence, if the enemy ſhould bourd with vs againe: And how that the Admirall offered vs life and liberty, and to receiue vs *a Buena querra*, and to ſend vs into our owne countrey. Saying, that if I thought it ſo meete, he and the reſt were of opinion that we ſhould put out a flagge of truce, and make ſome good compoſition. The great loſſe of blood had weakned me much. The torment of my wounds newly receiued, made me faint, and I laboured for life, within ſhort ſpace expecting I ſhould giue vp the *ghoſt*.

But this parly pearced through my heart, and wounded my ſoule; words failed me wherewith to expreſſe it, and none can conceiue it, but he which findeth himſelfe in the like agonie: yet griefe and rage miniſtred force, and cauſed me to breake forth into this reprehenſion and execution following.

Great is the Croſſe, which Almightie God hath ſuffered to come vpon me; That aſſaulted by our profeſſed enemies, and by them wounded (as you ſee) in body, lying gaſping for breath,) thoſe whom I reputed for my friends to fight with me, thoſe which I relyed on as my brethren to defend me in all occaſions; Thoſe whom I haue nouriſhed, cheriſhed, foſtered and loued as my children, to ſuccour me, helpe me, and to ſuſtaine my reputation in all extremities, are they who firſt draw their ſwords againſt me; are they which wound my heart, in giuing me vp into mine enemies hands, whence proceedeth this ingratitude? whence this faintneſſe of heart? whence this madneſſe? is the cauſe you fight for, vniuſt? is the honour and loue of your Prince and Countrey buried in the duſt? your ſweete liues, are they become loathſome vnto you? will you exchange your liberty for thraldome, will you conſent, to ſee that, which you haue ſweat for, and procured with ſo great labour and aduenture, at the diſpoſe of your enemies? can you content your ſelues to ſuffer my blood ſpilt before your eyes? and my life bereft me in your preſence? with the blood and liues

of

of your deere brethren to be vnreuenged? is not an honourable death to be preferred before a miſerable and ſlauiſh life? The one ſuſteining the honour of our nation, of our predeceſſours, and of our ſocietie; the other ignominious to our ſelues, and reproachfull to our nation. Can you be perſwaded that the enemy will performe his promiſe with you, that neuer leaueth to breake it with others, when he thinketh it aduantagious? and know you not, that with him, all is conuenient that is profitable? Hold they not this for a *maxime*; that, *nulla fides eſt ſeruanda cum hereticis*. In which number they accompt vs to be. Haue you forgotten their faith violated with my father, in S^t. *Iohn de Vlua*, the conditions and capitulations being firmed by the *Viceroy*, and twelue Hoſtages, all principall perſonages giuen for the more ſecuritie of either party to other? Haue you forgotten their promiſe broken with *Iohn Vibao*, and his company in *Florida*, hauing conditioned to giue them ſhipping and victuals, to carry them into their Countrey? immediately after they had deliuered their weapons and armes, had they not their throates cut? haue you forgotten how they dealt with *Iohn Oxnam*, and his Company, in this Sea, yeeldeth vpon compoſition? and how after a long impriſonment, and many miſeries (being carryed from *Panama* to *Lyma*) and there hanged with all his Company, as Pyrates, by the Iuſtice? And can you forget how dayly they abuſe our noble natures, which being voyde of malice, meaſure all by ſinceritie, but to our loſſe? for that when we come to demand performance, they ſtoppe our mouthes; Either with laying the *inquiſition* vpon vs; or with deliuering vs into the hands of the ordinary Iuſtice; or of the Kings miniſters. And then vrged with their promiſes, they ſhrinke vp to the ſhoulders; and ſay, That they haue now no further power ouer vs; They ſorrow in their hearts, to ſee their promiſe is not accompliſhed; but now they cannot doe vs any good office, but to pray to God for vs, and to entreat the miniſters in our behalfe.

Came we into the South-ſea to put out flagges of truce? And left we our pleaſant *England*, with all her contentments, with intention or purpoſe to avayle our ſelues of white ragges? and by banners of peace to deliuer our ſelues for ſlaues into our enemies hands? or to range the world with the Engliſh, to take the law from them, whom by our ſwords, proweſſe, and valour, we haue alwaies heretofore bin accuſtomed to purchaſe honour, riches and reputation? If theſe motiues be not ſufficient to perſwade you, then I preſent before your eyes, your wiues and children, your parents and friends, your noble and ſweete countrey, your gracious

Soueraigne: of all which accompt your ſelues for euer depriued, if this propoſition ſhould be put in execution; But for all theſe, and for the loue and reſpect you owe me, and for al beſides that you eſteeme and hold deare in this world, and for him, that made vs and all the world, baniſh out of your imagination, ſuch vaine and baſe thoughts; and according to your woonted reſolution, proſecute the defence of your ſhippe, your liues, and libertie, with the liues and libertie of your companions; who by their wounds and hurts are diſabled and deprined of all other defence and helpe, ſaue that which lyeth in your diſcretions and proweſſe. And you Captaine, of whom I made choiſe amongſt many, to be my principall aſſiſtant, and the perſon to accompliſh my dutie, if extraordinary caſualtie ſhould diſable me, to performe and proſecute our voyage. Tender your obligation, and now in the occaſion giue teſtimony, and make proofe of your conſtancie and valour, according to the opinion and confidence, I haue euer held of you.

Whereunto he made anſwere; my good Generall, I hope you haue made experience of my reſolution, which ſhall be euer to put in execution, what you ſhall be pleaſed to command me; and my actions ſhall giue teſtimonie of the obligation wherein I ſtand bound vnto you. What I haue done, hath not proceeded from faintneſſe of heart, nor from a will to ſee imaginations put in execution (for beſides the loſſe of our reputation, liberty, and what good elſe we can hope for.) I know the Spaniard too too well, and the manner of his proceedings, in diſcharge of promiſes, but only to giue ſatisfaction to the reſt of the Company, which importuned me to mooue this point. I condiſcended to that, which now I am aſhamed of, and grieue at, becauſe I ſee it diſliking to you. And here I vowe to fight it out, till life or lymmes fayle me. Bee you pleaſed to recommend vs to Almightie God, and to take comfort in him, whom I hope will giue vs victory, and reſtore you to health and ſtrength, for all our comforts, and the happy accompliſhing and finiſhing of our voyage, to his glory.

I replyed: this is that which beſeemeth you; this ſorteth to the opinion I euer held of you; and this will gaine you (with God and man) a iuſt reward. And you the reſt (my deere companions and friends) who euer haue made a demonſtration of deſire to accompliſh your duties, remember, that when we firſt diſcryed our enemy, you ſhewed to haue a longing to proone your valours againſt him: Now that the occaſion is offered, lay hold of the forelocke. For if once ſhee turne her backe, make ſure accompt neuer after to ſee her face againe; and as true Engliſh men, and followers

of

of the ſteppes of our forefathers, in vertue and valour, ſell your bloods and liues deerely, that Spaine may euer record it with ſadneſſe and griefe. And thoſe which ſurviue, reioyce in the purchaſe of ſo noble a victory with ſo ſmall meanes againſt ſo powerfull an enemy.

Hereunto they made anſwer; that as hitherto they had beene conformable to all the vndertakings, which I had commanded or counſelled, ſo they would continue in the ſelfe ſame dutie and obedience to the laſt breath: vowing either to remaine Conquerours and Free-men, or elſe to ſell their liues at that price, which their enemies ſhould not willingly conſent to buy them at. And with this reſolution, both Captaine and company tooke their leaue of me, euery one particularly, and the greater part with teares, and and imbracings, though we were forthwith to depart the world, and neuer ſee one the other againe, but in heauen; promiſing to caſt all forepaſſed imaginations into oblivion, and never more to ſpeake of ſurrendry.

They reſolue to fight it out.

In accompliſhment of this promiſe and determination, they perſevered in ſuſtaining the fight, all this night, with the day and night following, and the third day after. In which time the Enemie never left vs, day nor night, bearing continually vpon vs, with his great and ſmall ſhott. Saving that every morning an hower before breake of day, hee edged a little from vs, to breath, and to remedie ſuch defects as were amiſſe; as alſo to conſult, what they ſhould doe the day and night following.

The Enemie breatheth.

The Engliſh repaire their defects.

This time of interdiction, we imployed, in repayring our ſayles, and tacklings, in ſtopping our leakes, in fiſhing and wolling our maſtes and yards, in mending our pumpes, and in fitting and providing our ſelues for the day to come: though this was but little ſpace for ſo many workes, yet gaue it great reliefe and comfort vnto vs, and made vs better able to endure the defence: for otherwiſe, our ſhippe muſt of force haue ſuncke before our ſurrendry, having many ſhot vnder water, and our pumpes ſhot to peeces every day: In all this ſpace, not any man of either part tooke reſt or ſleepe, and little ſuſtenance; beſides bread and wine.

In the ſecond dayes fight, the Vice-admirall comming vpon our quarter, *William Blanch*, one of our Maſters mates, with a luckie hand, made a ſhot vnto her, with one of our ſterne peeces; it caried away his maine Maſt cloſe by the decke: wherewith the Admirall beare vp to her, to ſee what harme ſhee had received, and to giue her ſuch ſuccour, as ſhee was able to ſpare: which we ſeeing, were in good hope, that they would haue now left to moleſt vs a-

ny longer, having wherewithall to entertaine themselues in redressing their owne harmes. And so we stood away from them, close by as we could; which wee should not haue done, but prosecuted the occasion, and brought our selues close vpon her weather gage, and with our great and small shot hindered them from repairing their harmes: if we had thus done, they had beene forced to cut all by the bourd; and it may bee (lying a hull, or to le-wards of vs) with a few shot, wee might haue lunckt her. At the least, it would haue declared to our enemies, that wee had them in little estimation, when able to goe from them, we would not: and perhaps bin a cause to haue made them to leaue vs.

Advantages omitted.

But this occasion was let slip, as also, that other to fight with them, saying quarter winds, or before the winde: for having stood off to Sea, a day and a night, we had scope to fight at our pleasure, and no man having sea roome, is bound to fight as his enemie will, with disadvantage, being able otherwise to deale with equalitie: contrariwise, every man ought to seeke the meanes hee can, for his defence, and greatest advantage, to the annoyance of his contrarie.

Now wee might with our fore-saile, low set, haue borne vpp before the winde, and the enemie of force must haue done the like, if hee would fight with vs, or keepe vs company: and then should wee haue had the advantage of them. For although their Artillery were longer, waightier, and many more then ours, and in truth did pierce with greater violence; yet ours being of greater bore, and carrying a waightier and greater shot, was of more importance and of better effect for sinking and spoyling: for the smaller shot passeth through, and maketh but his whole, and harmeth that which lyeth in his way; but the greater shaketh and shivereth all it meeteth, and with the splinters, or that which it encountreth, many times doth more hurt, then with his proper circumference: as is plainely seene in the battery by land, when the Saker, the Demy-Colverin, the Colverin, and demi-Canon, (being peeces that reach much further point blanke then the Cannon) are nothing of like importance for making the breach, as is the Cannon; for that this shot being ponderous pierceth with difficultie, yea worketh better effects, tormenting, shaking and overthrowing all; whereas the others, with their violence, pierce better, and make onely their hole, and so hide themselues in the Wooll or Rampire.

The difference of shot.

Their effects.

Besides, (our Ship being yare and good of steeridge) no doubt but we should haue played better with our Ordinance, and with

more

more effect, then did our enemies; which was a great errour, being able to fight with leſſe disadvantage, and yet to fight with the moſt that could be imagined, which I knew not off, neither was able to direct, though I had knowne it, being in a manner ſenſeleſſe, what with my woonds, and what with the agony of the ſurrendry propounded, for that I had ſeldome knowne it ſpoken of, but that it came afterwards to be put in execution. Errors in Fight,

The Generall not being able to ſuccour his Vice-admirall, except he ſhould vtterly leaue vs, gaue them order, to ſhift as well as they could for the preſent, and to beare with the next Port, and there to repayre their harmes. Himſelfe preſently followed the Chaſe, and in ſhort ſpace fetched vs vp, and beganne a freſh to batter vs with his great and ſmall ſhott. The Vice-admirall (hauing ſaued what they could) cutt the reſt by the bourd, and with Foreſayle and Myton came after vs alſo, and before the ſetting of the Sunne, were come vpon our broad ſide, wee bearing all our Sayles, and after kept vs company, lying vpon our weather quarter, and annoying vs what ſhee could.

Here I hold it neceſſary, to make mention of two things, which were moſt preiudiciall vnto vs, and the principall cauſes of our perdition, the errours and faults of late dayes, crept in amongſt thoſe who follow the Sea, and learned from the *Flemings* and *Eaſterlings*. I wiſh that by our misfortunes others would take warning, and procure to redreſſe them, as occaſions ſhall be offered. Learned from the *Flemings* and *Eaſterlings*.

The one, is to fight vnarmed, where they may fight armed. The other, is in comming to fight, to drinke themſelues drunke. Yea, ſome are ſo madd, that they mingle Powder with Wine, to giue it the greater force, imagining that it giueth ſpirit, ſtrength, and courage, and taketh away all feare and doubt. The latter is for the moſt part true, but the former is falſe and beaſtly, and altogether againſt reaſon. For though the nature of Wine, with moderation, is to comfort and reuiue the heart, and to fortifie and ſtrengthen the ſpirit; yet the immoderate vſe thereof worketh quite contrary effects. 1. To fight vnarmed. 2. To drinke to exceſſe.

In fights, all receipts which adde courage and ſpirit, are of great regard, to be allowed, and vſed; and ſo is a draught of Wine, to be giuen to euery man before he come to action, but more then enough is pernicious; for, exceeding the meane, it offendeth, and infeebleth the ſences, converting the ſtrength (which ſhould reſiſt the force of the enemy) into weakeneſſe: it dulleth and blindeth the vnderſtanding, and conſequently depraueth any man of true valour. For that he is diſenabled to iudge and apprehend the occa-

ſion, which may be offered, to aſſault, and retyre in time conuenient; the raynes of reaſon being put into the hands of paſſion and diſorder. For after I was wounded, this *nimium* bred great diſorder and inconuenience in our Shippe; the pott continually walking, infuſed deſperate and fooliſh hardineſſe in many, who blinded with the fume of the liquor, conſidered not of any danger, but thus and thus would ſtand at hazard; ſome in vaine glory, vaunting themſelues; ſome other rayling vpon the *Spaniards*; another inviting his companion to come and ſtand by him, and not to budge a foote from him; which indiſcreetly they put in execution, and coſt the liues of many a good man, ſlaine by our enemies Muſketiers, who ſuffered not a man to ſhew himſelfe, but they preſently ouerthrew him with ſpeed and watchfullneſſe; For prevention of the ſecond errour, although I had great preparation of Armours, as well of proofe, as of light Corieletts, yet not a man would vſe them; but eſteemed a pott of Wine, a better defence then an Armour of proofe. Which truely was great madneſſe, and a lamentable fault, worthy to be baniſhed from amongſt all reaſonable people, and well to be weighed by all Commanders.

The *Spaniard* ſurpaſſeth vs onely in temperance.

For if the *Spaniard* ſurpaſſeth vs in any thing, it is in his temperance, and ſuffering: and, where he hath had the better hand of vs, it hath beene (for the moſt part) through our owne folly, for that we will fight vnarmed with him being armed. And although I haue heard many men maintaine, that in Shipping, Armour is of little profit; All men of good vnderſtanding, will condemne ſuch deſperate ignorance. For beſides, that the ſleighteſt Armour ſecureth the parts of a mans body (which it covereth) from Pike, Sword, and all hand weapons: it likewiſe giueth boldneſſe and courage; a man Armed, giueth a greater and a waightier blow, then a man vnarmed; he ſtandeth faſter, and with greater difficultie is to be overthrowne.

The vſe and profit of arming,

And I neuer read, but that the gliſtering of the Armour hath beene by Authors obſerued, for that (as I imagine) his ſhow breedeth terror in his contraries, and deſpayre to himſelfe if he be vnarmed. And therefore in time of warre, ſuch as devote themſelues to follow the profeſſion of Armes (by Sea or by Land) ought to covet nothing more, then to be well Armed; for as much as it is the ſecond meanes, next Gods protection, for preſeruing, and prolonging many mens liues.

exactly obſerved by the Spaniſh.

Wherein the Spaniſh nation deſerveth commendation aboue others, euery one from the higheſt to the loweſt, putting their greateſt care in providing faire and good Armes. He which cannot

come

come to the price of a Corſlet, will haue a coate of Mayle, a Iackett, at leaſt, a Buffe-jerkin, or a privie Coate. And hardly will they be found without it, albeit, they liue, and ſerue (for the moſt part) in extreame hott Countries.

Whereas I haue knowne many bred in cold Countries, in a moment complaine of the waight of their Armes, that they ſmoother them, and then caſt them off, chuſing rather to be ſhott through with a Bullet, or lanched through with a Pike, or thruſt through with a Sword, then to endure a little travaile and ſuffering. But let me giue theſe lazie ones this leſſon, that he that will goe a warrefare, muſt reſolue himſelfe to fight; and he that putteth on this reſolution, muſt be contented to endure both heate and waight, firſt, for the ſafegard of his life, and next for ſubduing of his enemie; both which are hazarded, and put into great danger, if he fight vnarmed with an enemy armed.

Armes more neceſſary by Sea, then at Land.

Now for mine owne opinion, I am reſolved that Armour is more neceſſary by Sea, then by Land, yea, rather to be excuſed on the ſhore, then in the Shippe. My reaſon is, for that on the ſhore the Bullet onely hurteth, but in the Shippe, I haue ſeene the ſplinters kill and hurt many at once, and yet the ſhott to haue paſſed without touching any perſon. As in the *Galeon*, in which I came out of the *Indies*, in Anno 1597. in the rode of *Tercera*, when the Queenes Maieſties Shippes, vnder the charge of the Earle of *Eſſex*, chaſed vs into the rode, with the ſplinters of one ſhott, were ſlaine, maymed, and ſore hurt, at the leaſt a dozen perſons, the moſt part whereof had beene excuſed, if they had beene Armed.

And doubtleſſe, if theſe errours had beene foreſeene, and remedied by vs, many of thoſe who were ſlaine and hurt, had beene on foote, and we inabled to haue ſuſtained and maintained the fight much better and longer; and perhaps at laſt had freed our ſelues. For if our enemy had come to bourd with vs, our cloſe fights were ſuch, as we were ſecure, and they open vnto vs. And what with our Cubridge heads, one anſwering the other, our hatches vpon bolts, our brackes in our Deckes, and Gunner roome, it was impoſſible to take vs as long as any competent number of men had remained, twentie perſons would haue ſufficed for defence; and for this, ſuch Shippes are called *Impregnable*, and are not to be taken, but by ſurrender, nor to be ouercome, but with bourding or ſinking, as in vs by experience was verified: and not in vs alone, but in the *Reuenge* of the Queenes Maieſtie, which being compaſſed round about with all the *Armado* of *Spaine*, and bourded ſundry times by many at once, is ſaid, to haue ſunke three of the *Armado* by her ſide.

And in this conflict, having loſt all her Maſtes, and being no other then a logge in the Sea, could not bee taken with all their force and pollicie, till ſhee ſurrendred her ſelfe by an honourable compoſition.

By theſe preſidents, let Governours by Sea take ſpeciall care aboue all, to preſerue their people, in imitation of the French; who carrie many Souldiers in their ſhippes of Warre, and ſecure them in their holdes, till they come to entring, and to proue their forces by the dint of Sword.

A difference for Commanders.

But here the diſcreete Commaunders are to put difference, betwixt thoſe which defend, and thoſe which are to offend, and betwixt thoſe which aſſault, and thoſe which are aſſaulted. For (as I haue ſayd) no governement whatſoever, better requireth a perfect and experimented Commaunder, then that of the Sea. And ſo no greater errour can bee committed, then to commend ſuch charges to men vnexperimented in this profeſſion.

Race-ſhips of Warre diſliked

A third and laſt cauſe, of the loſſe of ſundry of our men, moſt worthy of note for all Captaines, owners, and Carpenters: was the race building of our ſhippe; the onely fault ſhee had; and now a dayes, held for a principall grace in any ſhippe: but by the experience which I haue had, it ſeemeth for ſundry reaſons verie preiudiciall for ſhippes of Warre, For in ſuch, thoſe which tackle the ſayles, of force muſt bee vpon the deckes, and are open without ſhelter, or any defence: yet here it will be obiected; That for this inconvenience, waſt clothes are provided, and for want of them, it is vſuall to lace a bonnet, or ſome ſuch ſhadow for the men; worthily may it bee called a ſhadow, and one of the moſt pernitious cuſtomes, that can be vſed, for this ſhadow, or defence, being but of linnen or wollen cloth, emboldeneth many; who without it would retire to better ſecuritie, whereas now thinking themſelues vnſeene, they become more bould, then otherwiſe they would, and thereby ſhot through, when they leaſt thinke of it; Some Captaines obſerving this errour, haue ſought to remedie it, in ſome of his Maieſties ſhippes: not by altering the building, but by deviſing a certaine defence, made of foure or fiue inch planckes of fiue foote high, and ſixe foote broad, running vpon wheeles, and placed in ſuch partes of the ſhippe, as are moſt open. Theſe they name blenders, and made of Elme for the moſt part; for that it ſhivers not with a ſhot, as Oake and other Timber will doe, which are now in vſe and ſervice, but beſt it is, when the whole ſide hath one blender, and one armour of proofe, for defence of thoſe, which of force muſt labour, and be aloft.

Waſt-clothes not ſo vſefull,

as other deviſes.

This

This race building, firſt came in, by overmuch homing in of our ſhippes; and received for good, vnder colour of making our ſhips thereby the better ſea-ſhippes, and of better advantage to hull and trye: but in my iudgement, it breedeth many inconveniences, and is farre from working the effect they pretend, by diſinabling them for bearing their cage worke correſpondent, to the proportion and mould of the ſhippe, making them tender ſided, and vnable to carry ſayle in any freſh gaile of winde, and diminiſhing the play of their Artillery, and the place for accommodating their people to fight, labor, or reſt.

And I am none of thoſe, who hold opinion, that the over-much homing in, the more the better, is commodious and eaſier for the ſhippe; and this out of the experience, that I haue learned; which with forcible reaſons, I could proue to be much rather diſcomodious and worthy to be reformed. But withall I hold it not neceſſary to diſcourſe here of that particularitie, but leaue the conſequence to men of vnderſtanding, and ſo ſurceaſe.

SECT. LXII.

ALl this ſecond day, and the third day and night, our Captaine and company ſuſteined the fight, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage where with they fought; The enemie being ever to wind-ward, and wee to lee-ward, their ſhott much damnifying vs, and ours little annoying them, for whenſoever a man encountreth with his enemie at ſea, in gayning the weather gage, hee is in poſſibilie to ſinke his contrary; but his enemie cannot not ſinke him; and therefore hee which is forced to fight with this diſadvantage, is to procure by all meanes poſſible to ſhoote downe his contraries Maſts or Yards, and to teare or ſpoyle his tackling and ſayles; for which purpoſe, billets of ſome heavie wood fitted to the great Ordinance, are of great importance. And ſo are Arrowes of fire, to bee ſhot out of ſlur-bowes, and caſes of ſmall ſhot ioyned two and two together, with peeces of wyer of fiue or ſix ynches long, which alſo ſhot out of muskets are of good effect, for tearing the ſayles, or cutting the tackling.

The diſadvantage of Ships to lee-ward.

And the beſt remedie.

Some are of opinion, that croſſe barres and chaine-ſhot, are of moment for the ſpoyling of Maſts and Yards, but experience dayly teacheth, them not to be of great importance, though neere

at hand, I confeſſe, they worke great execution: but the round ſhott, is the onely principall and powerfull meane, to breake Maſt or Yard.

The *Spaniards* fore-maſt thrice ſhot through.

And in this our fight, the Admirall of the Spaniards, had his fore-maſt ſhot through with two round ſhott, ſome three yardes beneath the head; had either of them entred but foure ynches further into the heart of the Maſt, without all doubt, it had freed vs, and perhaps put them into our hands. The third day in the after-noone which was the 22. of Iune 1594. according to our computation, and which I follow in this my diſcourſe, our ſayles being torne, our Maſtes all periſhed, our pumpes rent, and ſhot to peeces, and our ſhippe with foureteene ſhott vnder water, and ſeven or eight foote of water in hold; many of our men being ſlaine, and the moſt part of them (which remayned) ſore hurt, and in a manner altogether fruiteles, and the enemie offering ſtill to receaue vs a *buena querra*, and to giue vs life and libertie, and imbarkation for our countrey; Our Captaine, and thoſe which remayned of our Company, were all of opinion that our beſt courſe was to ſurrender our ſelues, before our ſhippe ſuncke. And ſo by common conſent agreed the ſecond time, to ſend a ſervant of mine *Thomas Sanders*, to ſignifie vnto mee the eſtate of our ſhippe and company; And that it was impoſſible by any other way to expect for hope of deliverance, or life, but by the miraculous hand of God, in vſing his Almighty power; or by an honourable ſurrender: which in every mans opinion was thought moſt convenient. So was I deſired by him, to giue alſo my conſent, that the Captaine might capitulate with the Spaniſh Generall, and to compound the beſt *partido* he could by ſurrendring our ſelues into his hands: vpon condition of life and libertie. This hee declared vnto me, being in a manner voyd of ſence, and out of hope to liue or recover, which conſidered, and the circumſtances of his relation, I anſwered as I could, that hee might iudge of my ſtate, readie every moment to giue vp the Ghoſt, and vnable to diſcerne in this cauſe what was convenient, except I might ſee the preſent ſtate of the ſhippe. And that the honour or diſhonour, the wel-fare or miſery, was for them, which ſhould be partakers of life; At laſt, for that I had ſatisfaction of his valour and true dealing, in all the time, hee had ſerved me, and in correſpondence of it, had given him (as was notorious) charge and credit in many occaſions, I bound him, by the loue and regard, hee ought me, and by the faith and duty to Almighty God, to tell me truely, if all were as he had declared. Whereunto hee made anſwere, that hee had manifeſted

vnto

vnto mee the plaine and naked truth, and that hee tooke God to witneſſe of the ſame truth; with which receiving ſatisfaction, I forced my ſelfe what I could, to perſwade him to animate his companions, and in my name to intreate the Captaine, and the reſt to perſevere in defence of their libertie, liues, and reputation, remitting all to his diſcretion: nor doubting, but he would be tender of his dutie, and zealous of my reputation, in preferring his liberty, and the liberty of the Company aboue all reſpects whatſoever. As for the welfare hoped by a ſurrender, I was altogether vnlikely to be partaker thereof, Death threatning to deprive me of the benefit, which the Enemie offered; but if God would bee pleaſed to free vs, the ioy and comfort I ſhould receiue, might perhaps giue me force and ſtrength to recover health.

Which anſwere being delivered to the Captaine, hee preſently cauſed a flagge of truce, to be put in place of our Enſigne, and began to parley of our ſurrendry, with a Spaniard, which *Don Beltran* appointed for that purpoſe, from the poope of the Admirall, to offer in his name, the conditions before ſpecified; with his faithfull promiſe and oath, as the King Generall, to take vs a *buena querra*, and to ſend vs all into our owne Countrey. The promiſe hee accepted, and ſayd, that vnder the ſame, hee yeelded, and ſurrendred himſelfe, ſhippe, and company. Immediately, there came vnto me another ſervant of mine, and told me, that our Captaine had ſurrendred himſelfe, and our ſhippe; which vnderſtood, I called vnto one *Iuan Gomes de Pineda*, a Spaniſh Pilote, which was our priſoner, and in all the fight we had kept cloſe in hold, and willed him to goe to the Generall *Don Beltran de Caſtro* from mee, to tell him, that if he would giue vs his word, and oath, as the Generall of the King, and ſome pledge for confirmation, to receiue vs a *buena querra*, and to giue vs our liues and libertie, and preſent paſſage into our owne Countrey, that we would ſurrender our ſelues, and ſhippe into his handes; Otherwiſe, that hee ſhould never enioy of vs, nor ours, any thing, but a reſolution every man to dye fighting.

With this Meſſage I diſpatched him, and called vnto me all my Company, and encouraged them to ſacrifice their liues fighting, and killing the Enemie, if he gaue but a fillip to any of our companions. The Spaniards willed vs to hoiſe out our boate, which was ſhott all to peeces; and ſo was theirs. Seing that hee called to vs to amaine our ſayles, which wee could not well doe, for that they were ſlung, and wee had not men inough to hand them. In this parley, the Vice-admirall comming vp on our quarter, and

not knowing of what had paſt, diſcharged her two chaſe peeces at vs, and hurt our Captaine very ſore in the thigh, and maimed one of our Maſters Mates, called *Hugh Maires*, in one of his Armes, but after knowing vs to be rendred, hee ſecured vs: And we ſatisfying them that wee could not hoiſe out our boate, nor ſtrike our ſayles the Admirall layd vs abourd, but before any man entred, *Iohn Gomes* went vnto the Generall, who receiued him with great curteſie, and asked him what we required; whereunto he made anſwere that my demaund was that in the Kings name, he ſhould giue vs his faith and promiſe, to giue vs our liues, to keepe the Lawes of fayre warres and quarter, and to ſend vs preſently into our countrey; and in confirmation hereof, that I required ſome pledge, whereunto the Generall made anſwere; that in the Kings Maieſties name his Maſter, hee receiued vs a *buena querra*, and ſwore by God Almightie, and by the habit of *Alcantara*, (whereof he had receiued knighthood, and in token whereof, hee wore in his breaſt a greene croſſe, which is the enſigne of that order) that he would giue vs our liues with good entreatie, and ſend vs as ſpeedily as he could, into our owne countrey. In confirmation whereof, he tooke of his gloue, and ſent it to mee, as a pledge.

Th· Engliſh ſurrender.

With this meſſage *Iohn Gomes* returned, and the Spaniards entred, and tooke poſſeſſion of our ſhippe, every one crying *buena querra, buena querra, ayuda mi mariana per ti*: with which our Company began to ſecure themſelues.

The Generall, was a principall Gentleman, of the ancient Nobilitie of Spaine, and brother to the *Conde de Lemos*, whoſe intention no doubt was according to his promiſe; and therefore conſidering that ſome bad intreaty, and inſolency, might be offered vnto me in my ſhippe, by the common Souldiers, who ſeldome haue reſpect to any perſon in ſuch occaſions, eſpecially in the caſe I was, whereof hee had enformed himſelfe; for prevention, hee ſent a principall Captaine, brought vp long time in Flaunders, called *Pedro Alueres de Pulgar*, to take care of me, and whileſt the ſhippes were one abourd the other, to bring me into his ſhip: which hee accompliſhed with great humanitie and courteſie; deſpiſing the barres of gold which were ſhared before his face; which hee might alone haue enioyed, if hee would; And truely hee was, as after I found by tryall, a true Captaine; a man worthy of any charge, and of the nobleſt condition, that I haue knowne any Spaniard.

The mildnes of a Generall after victorie

The Generall receiued me with great courteſie and compaſſion even with teares in his eyes, and words of great conſolation, and

commaunded mee to bee accommodated in his owne Cabbine, where hee ſought to cure and comfort mee the beſt he could; the like hee vſed with all our hurt men, ſixe and thirtie at leaſt. And doubtleſſe as true courage, valour, and reſolution, is requiſit in a Generall, in the time of battle. So humanitie, mildnes, and courteſie, after victorie.

SECT. LXIII.

WHilſt the ſhippes were together, the maine-maſt of the *Daintie* fell by the bourd, and the people being occupied in ranſacking and ſeeking for ſpoile and Pillage, neglected the principall; whereof enſued, that within a ſhort ſpace the *Daintie* grew ſo deepe with water, which increaſed for want of prevention, that all who were in her, deſired to forſake her, and weaved and cryed for ſuccour to bee ſaved; being out of hope of her recoverie.

The *Daintie* in danger of periſhing.

Whereupon, the Generall calling together the beſt experimented men hee had, and conſulting with them what was beſt to bee done: it was reſolued, that Generall *Michaell Angell* ſhould goe abourd the *Daintie*, and with him threeſcore Marriners, as many Souldiers; and with them, the Engliſh men who were able to labour to free her from water, and to put her in order, if it were poſſible: and then to recover *Perico*, the port of *Panama*, for that, of thoſe to wind ward, it was impoſſible to turne vp to any of them, and neerer then to le-ward was not any, that could ſupply our neceſſities and wants; which lay from vs, eaſt north eaſt, aboue two hundreth leagues.

Michaell Archangell reſcueth the Ship.

Michaell Angell, being a man of experience, and care, accompliſhed that he tooke in hand, although in clearing and bayling the water, in placing a pumpe, and in fitting and mending her fore-ſaile, he ſpent aboue ſixe and thirtie howers.

During which time, the ſhippes lay all a hull; but this worke ended, they ſet ſayle, & directed their courſe for the Iles of Pearles; And for that the *Daintie* ſayled badly, what for want of her maine-ſayle, and with the advantage, which all the ſouth-ſea ſhippes haue of all thoſe buils in our North ſea: The Admirall gaue her a twe; which notwithſtanding, (the wind calming with vs, as we approached neerer to the land) twelue dayes were ſpent, before we could

fetch ſight of the Ilands; which lye alongſt the coaſt, beginning ſome eight leagues, Weſt ſouth-weſt from *Panama*, and run to the ſouth-wards neere thirtie leagues. They are many, and the moſt vnhabited, and thoſe which haue people, haue ſome Negroes, ſlaues vnto the Spaniards, which occupie themſelues in labour of the land, or in fiſhing for Pearles,

Fiſhing for Pearles.

In times paſt, many inriched themſelues with that trade, but now it is growne to decay. The maner of fiſhing for Pearles is, with certaine long Pinaces or ſmall barkes, in which, there goe foure, fiue, ſixe, or eight Negroes, expert ſwimmers, and great deevers, whom the Spaniards call *Buſos*; with tract of time, vſe, and continuall practiſe, having learned to hold their breath long vnder water, for the better atchieving their worke. Theſe throwing themſelues into the Sea, with certaine inſtruments of their art, goe to the bottome, and ſeeke the bankes of the Oyſters, in which the Pearles are ingendered; and with their force and art, remoue them from their foundation, in which they ſpend more or leſſe time, according to the reſiſtance the firmenes of the ground affordeth. Once looſed, they put them into a bagge vnder their armes, and after bring them vp into their boates; having loaden it, they goe to the ſhoare: there they open them, and take out the Pearles: they lie vnder the vttermoſt part of the circuite of the Oyſter, in rankes and proportions, vnder a certaine part, which is of many pleights and folds, called the Ruffe, for the ſimilitude, it hath vnto a Ruffe.

The Pearles increaſe in bignes, as they be neerer the end or ioyne of the Oyſter: The meate of thoſe, which haue theſe pearles, is milkie, and not very wholeſome to be eaten.

In *Anno*, 1583. In the Iland of *Margarita*, I was at the dregging of Pearle Oyſters, after the maner we dregge Oyſters in England; and with mine owne hands I opened many, & tooke out the pearles of them; ſome greater, ſome leſſe, and in good quantitie.

How the Pearle is ingendred in the Oyſter, or Muſſell (for they are found in both) divers and ſundry are the opinions; but ſome ridiculous; whereof, becauſe many famous and learned men haue written largely, I will ſpeake no more, then hath beene formerly ſpoken, but referre their curious deſires to *Pliny*, with other Ancient, and moderne Authors.

The places where pearle are found.

They are found in divers partes of the world, as in the weſt *Indies*, in the *South ſea*, in the eaſt *Indian* ſea, in the Straites of *Magellane*, and in the *Scottiſh* Sea.

Thoſe found neere the Pooles, are not perfect, but are of a thick colour; whereas ſuch as are found neere the line, are moſt orient & transparent.

tranſparent: the curious call it their water: and the beſt is a cleare white ſhining, with fierie flames. And thoſe of the eaſt *India* haue the beſt reputation, though as good are found in the weſt *India*, the the choice ones, are of great valew and eſtimation, but the greateſt, that I haue read or heard of, was found in theſe Ilands of Pearles; the which King *Phillip* the ſecond of *Spaine*, gaue to his daughter *Elizabeth*, wife to *Albertus*, *Arch-duke* of *Auſtria*, and Governour of the States of *Flaunders*: in whoſe poſſeſſion it remaineth, and is called, *la Peregrina*, for the rarenes of it; being as bigge, as the pomell of a Poniard.

SECT. LXIIII.

IN this Navigation, after our ſurrender, the Generall tooke eſpecial care for the good intreaty of vs, and eſpecially of thoſe who were hurt. And God ſo bleſſed the hands of our Surgians (beſides that they were expert in their Art) that of all our wounded men not one died, that was aliue the day after our ſurrendry: The number whereof was neere fortie; and many of them with eight, ten, or twelue wounds, and ſome with more. The thing that ought to moue vs to giue God Almighty eſpeciall thankes and prayſes; was, that they were cured in a manner without inſtruments or ſalues: For the cheſts were all broken to peeces, and many of their ſimples and compounds throwne into the Sea; thoſe which remained, were ſuch, as were throwne about the ſhippe in broken pots and baggs, and ſuch as by the Divine providence were reſerved, at the end of three dayes, by order from the Generall, were commaunded to be ſought and gathered together. Theſe with ſome inſtruments of ſmall moment, bought and procured from thoſe, who had reſerved them to a different end, did not onely ſerue for our cures, but alſo for the curing of the Spaniards, being many more, then thoſe of our Company.

The Generall continueth his honourable vſage, towards the ſicke and wounded.

For the Spaniſh Surgians were altogether ignorant in their profeſſion, and had little or nothing wherewith to cure. And I haue noted, that the Spaniards in generall are nothing ſo curious, in accommodating themſelues, with good and carefull Surgeans, nor to fitt them with that which belongeth to their profeſſion, as other Nations are, though they haue greater neede then any, that I doe know.

At the time of our ſurrender, I had not the Spaniſh tongue, and ſo was forced to vſe an interpreter, or the Laune, or French; which holpe me much for the vnderſtanding of thoſe, which ſpake vnto me in Spaniſh; together with a little ſmattering I had of the Portugall.

Through the noble proceeding of *Don Beltran* with vs, and his particuler care towards me, in curing and comforting me, I began to gather heart, and hope of life, and health; my ſervants which were on foote, adviſed me ordinarily of that which paſt. But ſome of our enemies, badly inclined, repined at the proceedings of the Generall; and ſayd, he did ill to vſe vs ſo well; that wee were *Lutherans*; and for that cauſe, the faith which was given vs, was not to be kept nor performed: Others, that we had fought as good Souldiers, and therefore deſerved good quarter. Others, nicknamed vs with the name of *Corſarios*, or Pirats; not diſcerning thereby, that they included themſelues within the ſame imputation. Some were of opinion, that from *Panama*, the Generall would ſend vs into Spaine; Others ſayd, that he durſt not diſpoſe of vs, but by order from the Vice-roy of *Peru*, who had given him his authority. This hit the nayle on the head.

To all I gaue the hearing, and laid vp in the ſtore-houſe of my memory, that which I thought to be of ſubſtance, and in the ſtore-houſe of my conſideration, endevoured to frame a proportionable reſolution to all occurrants, conformable to Gods moſt holy will. Withall I profitted my ſelfe of the meanes, which ſhould bee offered, and beare greateſt probabilitie to worke our comfort, help, and remedie. And ſo, as time miniſtred opportunitie, I began, and endevoured to ſatisfie the Generall, and the better ſort in the points I durſt intermeddle. And eſpecially to perſwade (by the beſt reaſons I could) that wee might be ſent preſently from *Panama*: Alleaging the promiſe given vs, the coſt and charges enſuing, which doubtles would be ſuch as deſerued conſideration and excuſe: beſides that, now whileſt he was in place, and power and authority in his hands, to performe with vs, that hee would looke into his honour, and profit himſelfe of the occaſion, and not put vs into the hands of a third perſon; who perhaps being more powerfull then himſelfe, he might be forced to pray and intreate the performance of his promiſe; whereunto hee gaue vs the hearing, and bare vs in hand, that hee would doe, what hee could.

The Generall, and all in generall, not onely in the *Peru*, but in all *Spaine*, and the Kingdomes thereof (before our ſurrendry) held all Engliſh men of Warre, to be *Corſarios*, or Pirats; which I laboured to

to reforme, both in the *Peru*, and alſo in the Counſels of *Spaine*, and amongſt the Chieftaines, ſouldiers, and better ſort, with whom I came to haue converſation; Alleadging that a Pirate, or *Corſario*, is he, which in time of peace, or truce ſpoyleth, or robbeth thoſe, which haue peace or truce with them: but the Engliſh haue neyther peace nor truce with Spaine, but warre; and therefore not to be accounted Pirats. Beſides, Spaine broke the peace with England, and not England with Spaine; and that by *Embargo*, which of all kinds of defiances, is moſt reproved, and of leaſt reputation; The ranſoming of pryſoners, and that by the Cannon, being more honorable, but aboue all, the moſt honorable, is with Trumpet and Herald, to proclaime and denounce the warre by publicke defiance. And ſo if they ſhould condemne the Engliſh for Pirats, of force, they muſt firſt condemne themſelues.

What a Pirate is.

3. Sorts of defiances.

Moreover, Pirats are thoſe, who range the Seas without licence of their Prince; who when they are met with, are puniſhed more ſeuerely by their owne Lords, then when they fall into the hands of ſtrangers: which is notorious to be more ſeuerely proſecuted in England (in time of peace) then in any the Kingdomes of Chriſtendome.

But the Engliſh haue all licence, either immediately from their Prince, or from others therevnto authorized, and ſo cannot in any ſence be comprehended vnder the name of Pirats, for any hoſtility vndertaken againſt Spaine, or the dependancies thereof.

And ſo the ſtate ſtanding as now it doth; if in Spaine a particuler man ſhould arme a ſhippe, and goe in warre-fare with it againſt the Engliſh, and happened to be taken by them; I make no queſtion, but the Company ſhould bee intreated according to that manner, which they haue ever vſed ſince the beginning of the Warre: without making further Inquiſition.

The Cuſtome of Spaine for of warre.

Then if hee were rich or poore, to ſee if hee were able to giue a ranſome, in this alſo they are not very curious. But if this ſpaniſh ſhippe ſhould fall athwart his Kings Armado, or Gallies, I make no doubt but they would hang the Captaine and his Companie for Pirates. My reaſon is, for that by a ſpeciall law, it is enacted: that no man, in the kingdomes of Spaine, may arme any ſhippe, and goe in warre-fare, without the Kings ſpeciall licence and commiſſion; vpon paine to be reputed a Pirate, and to bee chaſtiſed with the puniſhment due to *Corſarios*. In England the caſe is different, for the warre once proclaimed, every man may arme that will, and hath wherewith; which maketh for our greater exemption, from being comprehended within the number of Pirates.

The Cuſtome of England.

With theſe, and other like Arguments to this purpoſe, (to avoid tediouſnes) I omitt; I convinced all thoſe whom I heard to harpe vpon this ſtring; which was of no ſmall importance for our good entreatie, and moriues for many, to further and favour the accompliſhment of the promiſe lately made vnto vs.

Sect. LXV.

A disputation concerning *Buena querra*.

One day afterdinner, (as was the ordinary cuſtome) The Generall, his Captaines, and the better ſort of his followers, being aſſembled in the Cabbin of the Poope in conference, an eager contention aroſe amongſt them, touching the capitulation of *Buena Querra* and the purport thereof. Some ſayd, that onely life and good entreatie of the priſoners, was to be comprehended therein; Others enlarged, and reſtrained it, according to their humors and export heire. In fine my opinion was required, and what I had ſeene, and knowne, touching that point: wherein I pawſed a little, and ſuſpecting the wiſh, feared that it might bee a baite layd to catch me withall, and ſo excuſed my ſelfe; ſaying, that where ſo many experimented ſouldiers were ioyned together, my young iudgement was vnfit to be reſpected; whereunto the Generall replyed; That knowledge was not alwayes incident to yeares, (though reaſon requireth, that the Aged ſhould bee the wiſeſt) but an Art, acquired by action, and management of affaires. And therefore they would be but certified, what I had ſeene, and what my iudgement was in this point, vnto which, ſeeing I could not well excuſe my ſelfe, I condiſcended; and calling my wits together, holding it better, to ſhoote out my boult, by yeelding vnto reaſon, (although I might erre) then to ſtand obſtinate, my will being at warre with my conſent, and fearing my deniall might be taken for diſcourteſie, which peradventure might alſo purchaſe me miſlike with thoſe, who ſeemed to wiſh me comfort and reſtitution. I ſubmitted to better iudgement, the reformation of the preſent Aſſembly; ſaying, Syr, vnder the capitulation of *Buena querra*, (or fayre warres) I haue ever vnderſtood, and ſo it hath beene obſerved in theſe, as alſo in former times, that preſervation of life, and good entreatie of the priſoner, haue beene comprehended: and further by no meanes to be vrged to any thing contrary to his conſcience, as touching his Religion; nor to be ſeduced, or menaced from the

The Reſolution &c.

allegeance due to his Prince and Countrey: but rather to ranſome him for his moneths pay. And this is that which I haue knowne practiſed in our times, in generall amongſt all civill and noble Nations. But the Engliſh, haue enlarged it one point more towards the Spaniards rendred a *Buena querra*, in theſe warres; haue ever delivered them, which haue beene taken vpon ſuch compoſitions, without ranſome: but the covetouſnes of our Age hath brought in many abuſes, and excluded the principall Officers from partaking of the benefit of this priviledge, in leaving them to the diſcretion of the Victor, beeing many times poorer, then the common Souldiers, their qualities conſidered, whereby they are commonly put to more, then the ordinary ranſome, and not being able of themſelues to accompliſh it, are forgotten of their Princes, and ſometimes ſuffer long impryſonment, which they ſhould not.

The noble vſage of the Engliſh,

But abuſed in theſe dayes.

With this, *Don Beltran* layd, This ambiguitie you haue well reſolved; And like a worthie Gentleman (with great courteſie and liberalitie) added; *Let not the laſt point trouble you: but bee of good comfort, for I heere giue you my word anew, that your ranſome (if any ſhall bee thought due) ſhall be but a couple of Grey-hounds for mee; and other two for my Brother, the* Conde de Lemos; *And this I ſweare to you by the habit of Alcantara.* Provided alwayes, that the King my Maſter leaue you to my diſpoſe, as of right you belong vnto me.

Don Beltran ſatisfied And anſwereth,

For amongſt the Spaniards in their Armadoes, if there bee an abſolute Generall, the tenth of all is due to him, and he is to take choiſe of the beſt: where in other Countries, it is by lot, that the Generalls tenth is given; And if they be but two ſhippes, he doth the like, and being but one, ſhee is of right the Generalls. This I hardly believed, vntill I ſaw a Letter, in which the King willed his Vice-roy, to giue *Don Beltran* thankes for our ſhippe and Artillerie, which he had given to his Maieſtie.

I yeelded to the Generall, moſt heartie thankes for his great favour, wherewith hee bound mee ever to ſeeke how to ſerue him, and deſerue it.

Sect. LXVI.

Short arrowes for Muskets.

IN this discourse Generall *Michaell Angell* demanded, for what purpose serued the little short Arrowes, which wee had in our shippe, and those in so great quantitie: I satisfied them, that they were for our Muskets. They are not as yet in vse amongst the Spaniards, yet of singular effect and execution as our enemies confessed: for the vpper worke of their shippes being Muskets proofe, in all places they passed through both sides with facilitie, and wrought extraordinary disasters, which caused admiration, to see themselues wounded with small shott, where they thought themselues secure; and by no meanes could find where they entred, nor come to the sight of any of the shott.

Hereof they proued to profit themselues after, but for that they wanted the tamplings, which are first to be driven home, before the arrow be put in, & as then vnderstood not the secret, they reiected them, as vncertaine, and therefore not to be vsed, but of all the shot vsed now a dayes, for the annoying of an Enemie in fight, by Sea, few are of greater moment for many respects: which I hold not conuenient to treate of in Publique.

Sect. LXVII.

ALittle to the South-wards of the Iland of Pearle, betwixt seuen and eight degrees, is the great River of *Saint Buena Ventura*. It falleth into the South Sea with three mouthes, the head of which, is but a little distant from the North Sea. *In Anno* 1575. or 1576. one *Iohn Oxman* of *Plymouth*, going into the west *Indies*, ioyned with the *Symarons*.

Iohn Oxmans Voyage to the South Sea.

What the *Symarons* are.

These are fugitiue Negroes, and for the bad intreatie which their Masters had given them, were then retyred into the mountaines, and lived vpon the spoyle of such Spaniards, as they could master, and could never be brought into obedience, till by composition they had a place limmitted them for their freedome, where they should liue quietly by themselues. At this day they haue a

great

great habitation neere *Panama*, called *Saint Iago de los Negros*, well peopled, with all their Officers and Commaunders of their owne, ſaue onely a Spaniſh Governour. Their habitation.

By the aſſiſtance of theſe *Symarons*, hee brought to the head of this River, by peecemeale, and in many iourneyes a ſmall pinnace, hee fitted it by time in warlike manner, and with the choice of his Company, put himſelfe into the South Sea, where his good hap, was to meete with a cople of ſhippes of trade, and in the one of them a great quantitie of gold, And amongſt other things two peeces of ſpeciall eſtimation, the one a Table of maſſie gold, with Emralds, ſent for a preſent to the King; the other a Lady of ſingular beautie, married, and a mother of Children. The latter grewe to be his perdition: for hee had capitulated with theſe *Symarons*, that their part of the bootie, ſhould be onely the priſoners, to the ende to execute their malice vpon them, (ſuch was the rancor they had conceiued againſt them, for that they had beene the Tyrants of their libertie.) But the Spaniards not contented to haue them their ſlaues; who lately had beene their Lords, added to their ſeruitude, cruell intreaties. And they againe to feede their inſatiable reuenges, accuſtomed to roſt and eate the hearts of all thoſe Spaniards, whom at any time they could lay hand vpon. Their aſſiſtance. *John Oxman* capitulateth with them,

John Oxman (I ſay) was taken with the Ioue of this Lady, and to winne her good will, what through her teares and perſwaſions, and what through feare and deteſtation of their barbarous inclinations; breaking promiſe with the *Symarons*, yeelded to her requeſt, which was, to giue the pryſoners liberty with their ſhips; for that they were not vſefull for him: notwithſtanding *Oxman* kept the Lady, who had in one of the reſtored ſhippes, eyther a Sonne, or a Nephew. This Nephew with the reſt of the Spaniards, made all the haſt they could to *Panama*, and they vſed ſuch diligence, as within fewe howers, ſome were diſpatched to ſeeke thoſe, who little thought ſo quickly to bee ouertaken. The purſuers approaching the River, were doubtfull by which of the afore-remembred three mouths, they ſhould take their way. His folly, And Breach of promiſe. His purſuite.

In this wavering, one of the Souldiers eſpied certaine feathers, of Henns, and ſome boughes of trees, (which they had cut off to make their way) ſwimming downe one of the Outlets. This was light ſufficient, to guide them in their courſe, they entred the River, and followed the tracke, as farre as their Frigats had water ſufficient; and then with part of their Souldiers in their boates, and the reſt on the bankes on eyther ſide, they marched day and night in purſuite of their enemies; and in fine came vppon them vnexpected at the And euill Fortune.

head of the River, making good cheare in their Tents, and devided in two partialities about the partition, and sharing of their gold. Thus were they surprised, and not one escaped.

Their bibbation.

He flyeth to the *Symarons*.

Some say that *Iohn Oxman*, fled to the *Symarons*, but they vtterly denyed to receiue, or succour him, for that he had broken his promise; the onely Obiection they cast in his teeth, was, that if he had held his word with them, hee never had fallen into this extremitie.

In fine hee was taken; and after, his shippe also was possessed by the Spaniards; which he had hid in a certaine Coue, and covered with boughes of trees, in the guard and custodie of some foure or fiue of his followers. All his Company, were conveyed to *Panama*, and there were ymbarked for *Lyma*; where a processe was made against them, by the Iustice, and all condemned and hanged as Pirates.

Iohn Oxman captiuateth with them.

Breach of faith never vnpunished.

This may be a good example to others in like occasions: first, to shunne such notorious sinnes, which cannot escape punishment in this life, nor in the life to come: for the breach of faith is reputed amongst the greatest faults, which a man can commit. Secondly, not to abuse another mans wife; much lesse to force her, both being odious to God and man. Thirdly to beware of mutenies, which seldome or never are seene to come to better ends; for where such trees flourish, the fruite of force, must eyther bee bitter, sweete, or very sower. And therefore, seeing wee vaunt our selues to bee Christians and make profession of his law, who forbiddeth all such vanities; let vs faithfully shunne them, that wee may partake the end of that hope which our profession teacheth and promiseth.

His pollicie.

And

Breach of pro-mise.

And euill For-tune.

SECT.

SECT. LXVIII.

COmming in ſight of the Ilands of Pearles, the winde began to freſh in with vs, and wee profited our ſelues of it: but comming thwart of a ſmall Iland, which they call *le Pacheta*, that lyeth within the Pearle Ilands, cloſe abourd the mayne, and ſome eight or ten Leagues ſouth and by weſt from *Panama*, the wind calmed againe.

La Pacheta

This Iland belongeth to a private man, it is a round humock, conteyning not a league of ground, but moſt fertile. Inſomuch that by the owners induſtrie, and the labour of ſome fewe ſlaues, who occupie themſelues in manuring it; and two barkes, which hee imployeth in bringing the fruit it giveth, to *Panama*; it is ſayd to bee worth him every weeke, one with another, a barre of ſilver; valued betwixt two hundreth and fiftie, or three hundreth pezos: which in Engliſh money, may amount to fiftie or threeſcore pounds: and for that, which I ſaw at my being in *Panama*, touching this, I hold to be true.

In our courſe to fetch the Port of *Panama*, we put our ſelues betwixt the Ilands and the Maine: which is a goodly Channell, of three, foure, and fiue leagues broad, and without danger; except a man come too neare the ſhoare on any ſide; and that is thought the better courſe, then to goe a ſea-boord of the Ilands, becauſe of the ſwift running of the tydes, and the advantage to ſtop the ebbe: As alſo for ſuccour, if a man ſhould happen to bee becalmed at any time beyond expectation; which happeneth ſometimes.

The ſeaventh of Iuly wee had ſight of *Perico*; they are two little Ilands, which cauſe the Port of *Panama*, where all the ſhippes vſe to ride; It is ſome two Leagues weſt north-weſt of the Cittie, which hath alſo a *Pere* in it ſelfe for ſmall Barkes, at full ſea, it may haue haue ſome ſixe or ſeaven foote water, but at low water it is drie.

The Generall certefieth the *Audiencia* of his ſucceſſe.

The ninth of Iuly we anckored vnder *Perico*, and the Generall preſently adviſed the *Audiencia*, of that which had ſucceeded in his Iourney: which vnderſtood by them, caused bonfires to be made, and every man to put luminaries in their houſes; the fashion is much vſed amongſt the Spaniards in their feaſtes of ioy, or for glad tidings

tidings; placing many lights in their Churches, in their windowes, and Galleries, and corners of their houſes; which being in the beginning of the night, and the Cittie cloſe by the ſea ſhore, ſhowed to vs (being farre off) as though the Cittie had beene on a light fire.

The great ioy of the Spaniards.

About eight of the clocke all the Artillerie of the Citty was ſhot off, which wee might diſcerne by the flaſhes of fire, but could not heare the reports: yet the Armado being adviſed thereof, and in a readineſſe, anſwered them likewiſe with all their Artillery: which taking ende (as all the vanities of this earth doe) The Generall feated himſelfe to diſpatch adviſe for the King, for the Vice-roy of *Peru*, and for the Vice-roy of the *Nova Spana*, for hee alſo had beene certified of our being in that ſea, and had fitted an Armado to ſeeke vs, and to guard his coaſt.

Note

But now for a farewell, (and note it) Let me relate vnto you this Secret; How *Don Beltran* ſhewed mee a Letter from the King his Maſter, directed to the Vice-roy, wherein he gaue him particular relation of my pretended voyage; of the ſhippes; their burden; their munition; their number of men, which I had in them, as perfectly as if he had ſeene all with his owne eyes; Saying vnto me: *Hereby may you diſcerne, whether the King my Maſter haue friends in England, and good and ſpeedie advice of all that paſſeth.*

Whereunto I replyed; It was no wonder, for that he had plenſie of gold and ſilver, which worketh this and more ſtrange effects: for my iourney was publique and notorious to all the Kingdome, whereunto hee replyed, that if I thought it ſo conuenient, leaue ſhould be given me to write into England to the Queenes Maieſtie my Miſtreſſe, to my Father, and to other perſonages, as I thought good; and leaving the Letters open; that hee would ſend ſome of them, in the Kings Packet, others to his Vncle *Don Rodrigo de Caſtro*, Cardinall and Archbiſhoppe of *Sevill*, and to other friendes of his; Not making any doubt but that they would be ſpeedily in England. For which I thanked him, and accepted his courteſie, and although I was my ſelfe vnable to write, yet by the hands of a ſeruant of mine, I wrote three or foure coppies of one letter to my Father, Sir *Iohn Hawkins*. In which I briefly made relation of all that had ſucceeded in our voyage.

The Generall corrects the Authors or his Secretie.

The diſpatches of *Spaine* and *new Spaine*, went by ordinary courſe in ſhips of adviſe; but that for the *Peru* was ſent by a kinſeman of the Generalls, called *Don Franciſco de la Cuena*.

Which being diſpatched, *Don Beltran* haſted all that ever hee could, to put his ſhippes in order, to returne to *Lyma*. Hee cauſed the

the *Daintie* to be grounded, and trimmed, for in thoſe Ilands, it higheth and falleth ſome fifteene or ſixteene foote water.

And the Generall with his Captaines, and ſome Religious men being aboord her, and new naming her, named her the *Viſitation*; for that ſhee was rendred on the day, on which they celebrate the viſitation of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*. In that place the ground being plaine and without vantage, (whereby to helpe the tender ſided and ſharpe ſhippes) they are forced to ſhore them on either ſide. In the midſt of their ſolemnity, her props and ſhores of one ſide fayled and ſo ſhee fell over vpon that ſide ſuddenly, intreating many of them (which were in her) very badly, and doubtles had ſhee bin like the ſhippes of the South Sea, ſhee had broken out her bulge: but being without Maſtes and empty, (for in the South Sea, when they bring a ground a ſhippe, they leaue neither maſt, balaſt, nor any other thing abourd, beſides the bare hull) her ſtrength was ſuch, as it made no great ſhow to haue received any domage, but the feare ſhee put them all into was not little, and cauſed them to runne out of her taſter then a good pace.

In theſe Ilands is no ſuccour, nor refreſhing; onely in the one of them, is one houſe of ſtrawe, and a little ſpring of ſmall moment. For the water, which the ſhippes vſe for their proviſion; they fetch from another Iland, two Leagues weſt north-weſt of theſe; which they call *Tabaga*, having in it ſome fruite and refreſhing, and ſome fewe *Indians* to inhabite it.

What ſucceeded to mee, and to the reſt during our Impriſoment, with the rarities and particularities of the *Peru*, and *Tierra firme*, my voyage to *Spaine*, and the ſucceſſe, with the time I ſpent in pryſon in the *Peru*, in the *Tercera*, in *Sevill*, and in *Madrid*, with the accidents which befell me in them; I leaue for a ſecond part of this diſcourſe, if God giue life, and convenient place and reſt, neceſſary for ſo tedious and troubleſome a worke: deſiring God, that is Almightie, to giue his bleſſing to this and the reſt of my intentions: that it and they may bee fruitefull, to his glory, and the good of all: then ſhall my deſires be accompliſhed, and I account my ſelfe moſt happie. To whom be all glory, and thankes from all eternitie

(· ·)

FINIS.

Errata sic corrige.

FOlio 5. for *recant*, read *recount*. fol. 7. and 9. for *maſters*, read *maſters*. fol. 9. line 7. for *light*, read *laſt*. fol. 15. for *ſerue* read *ſaue*. fol. 23. for *we not*, read *we were not*. for the River of *Ieromino*, read *Ienero*. for *roſe*, read *noſe*. The litteralls are commended to favour.

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